India in the Time of Patañjali

B.N. PURI

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Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is not merely a commentary on Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, but seeks to present the politico-socio scenario of his time. The present work is based on the data, as could be culled from the relevant illustrations and citations quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra in support of his grammatical comments, as also supported by literary and epigraphic source materials. The study concentrates not only on the date, birth-place and identity of two or more Patañjalis, but also provides a study of the political history of the Śuṅga-Kāṇva and early Andhra rulers in proper perspectives.

In addition, besides the geographical background, social life in all its facets, as all the economic conditions, followed by religion and literature have been fully brought out. The chapter on art and architecture is based on Bhārhut and Sāñcī, the two contemporary art centres with rich sculptural details, and also includes a section on the terracottas of the Śuṅga period.

The work in its totality provides a comprehensive study of the history and culture of Northern India of the period centring round *c.* 150 BC. In the edition, several chapters have received fresh treatment to make the work innovative with a flair of improved style and diction.

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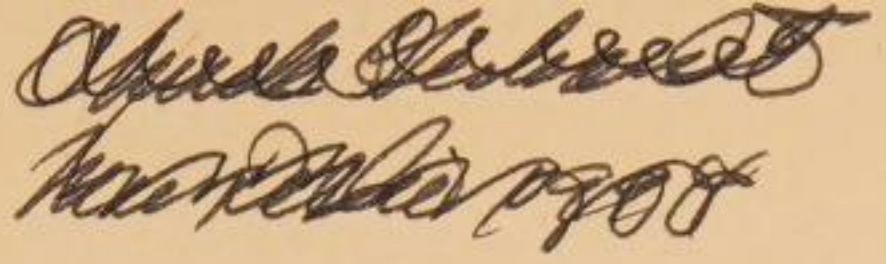

INDIA IN THE TIME OF PATAÑJALI

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M. LITT. (OXON); D.PHIL. (OXON)

with a foreword by
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Foreword

B.N. Puri's *India in the Time of Patañjali* is an original study of the stages of Indian culture prevalent during an obscure period centring around 150 BC. It is based primarily upon evidence laboriously elicited from a text of great difficulty and importance whereof the particulars had not been at all fully investigated. Most scholars have at times had occasion to realize that Patañjali's masterpiece had remained, not indeed a *terra incognita*, yet a region insufficiently explored and gazetted. In Dr Puri's work the material is collected and systematically expounded, with comparisons and large supplements afforded by the facts and conclusions of Indian History, general and literary, and those of art, archaeology and numismatics, so that a full picture is presented.

The book would be found valuable for perusal by students of Indian culture and history and for consultation, with the aid of a suitable index, by senior scholars in different departments.

'LIMEN'
Bodicote
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27.VI.1951

F.W. THOMAS

Preface to the Third Edition

The new edition of any work demands some change, improvement and revision necessitated by time and circumstances. This, of course, has not been possible in the case of this work in the absence of fresh evidence. The time factor, now nearly two decades after the publication of the second edition (1968), however, is responsible for the redrafting of atleast three chapters. This has been done to ensure that atleast a third of the book is fairly new in style and format. The Introduction, Political History, and Art and Architecture have been entirely rewritten with such changes and modifications as were deemed necessary, without altering the earlier contentions. There was no need for any change in the chapters relating to Geographical Information, Social Life, Economic Life, Educational Life, Religious Condition, and Literature. The book is being brought out by the new publisher, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, and I hope it would be welcomed by those interested in India's past. There has been a change in the system of transliteration, as also in the arrangement of footnotes (references) at the end of each chapter.

Lucknow B.N. PURI
April 25, 1990

Preface to the First Edition

Patañjali, the Bhāṣyakāra, is to be distinguished from the Yoga Sūtrakāra of the name sake and there is no ground of confusing the two. The present work is concerned with the former who is well known for his comment on the Sūtras of Pāṇini in the light of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas. He wrote his work for the Śiṣṭas, the Brahmin intelligents of Āryāvarta opportunely, when Sanskrit was losing its popularity with the emergence of provincial literary dialects. His aim was to make the Śiṣṭas understand the difficult rules of grammar, and to preserve the chastity of language. In this work, Patañjali makes repeated references to the personality of Puṣyamitra, to the invasion of the Yavanas who besieged Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and Madhyamikā (near Chittor), and the Yajñas performed by the Śuṅga monarch. It is now commonly conceded that Patañjali, the Bhāṣyakāra, was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. He seems to have witnessed the Yavana invasion and presumably officiated at the sacrifices performed by the Śuṅga monarch.

In the Introductory Chapter, I have considered at length the traditions about the composition of the work, its sanctity, and the different accounts relating to the birth of its author. Arguments for and against the identification of two or more Patañjalis, as adduced by scholars, have been fully weighed. The parentage and birthplace of Patañjali have been considered in the light of the references in *Mahābhāṣya* to *Goṇikāputra* and *Goṇarddīya*. Presumably the name of his mother was *Goṇikā*. Here one is not inclined to agree with R.G. Bhandarkar that Patañjali's birth-place was Gonda in Avadha, or that he was a native of the Deccan, as suggested by P.C. Chakravartty.

The Second Chapter is devoted to a detailed history of Northern India from the second century BC to the dawn of Christian era. The main events of the reign of Puṣyamitra—the Vidarbha war, Yavana invasions, twice performance of Aśvamedha sacrifices, and the supposed invasion by King Khāravela of Kaliṅga—are considered in detail on the basis of

the available sources. There is little reason to presume the contemporaneity of Khāravela and Puṣyamitra, the Śuṅga monarch, who can not be identified with Bahasatimitra. The history of the later Śuṅgas, followed by the Kāṇvas, is inexplicable save for the names of the rulers and the period of their rule, but the Besnagar inscription suggests the existence of diplomatic relations between the Śuṅgas and the Indo-Greeks who were well-settled in the Punjab. The provincial dynasties of Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī and Kaliṅga and certain tribes have also been dealt with. The study is based principally on coins and a few inscriptions. There is no ground for identifying the local rulers of Pañcāla, for name sake, with the Śuṅga kings. In this Chapter the history of the two Indo-Greek families of Euthydemus and Eucratides and that of the Śakas has also been considered. Patañjali also refers to the Śakas and Yavanas in his work. The history of Kaliṅga under Khārvela and his probable date, and the original home of the Āndhras, who uprooted the Kāṇvas and the last remnants of the Śuṅgas, are also taken into account. The evidence relating to the political history of this period is scanty and in the words of the late Professor Rapson, 'we can only define the limits of possible hypothesis in this instance.'

The Geographical information in the *Mahābhāṣya* is not so exhaustive as in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, probably due to the fact that the Bhāṣyākara does not comment on certain Sūtras relating to geographical data. His work is, however, comprehensive enough to afford an idea of the different Janapadas or kingdoms with which Patañjali was familiar. He is more particular about Āryāvarta, the land of the Śiṣṭas and defines boundaries which can be verified from the information provided by the Smṛti-kāras on the point. But he is by no means restricted. One finds reference to the settlements of the Yavanas, the Janapadas of the North-West-Gandhāra, Kamboja and Kaśmīra, those in the East-Aṅga, Magadha, Kalinga and Prāgdeśa; Sindhu, Sauvīra and Surāṣṭra in the West, and Chola, Pāṇḍya and Kerala in the South. He also refers to the important cities of Northern India, and to a few in the Southern, like Nāsikya and Kāñcipura. One also finds reference to the physical geography, rivers and mountains etc.

The information relating to social life in the *Mahābhāṣya* is exhaustive enough and it is discussed under different headings—Division of Society, Family Life Food, Household effects, Dress and Ornaments, Marriage and Position of Women, Pastime and Recreations, Social Evils and other Miscellaneous items of social interest. Here the evidence provided by the Bhārhut sculptures depicting the life of the people is also taken into account. The Bhāṣyakāra was anxious to preserve the purity of the Brāhmaṇas but he has referred to certain mixed castes which can be checked up with the information given by Manu. The social standard was fairly high, as may be judged by the information regarding food, dress and ornaments etc. contained in the *Mahābhāṣya* and corroborated by sculptures. The ladies seem to have enjoyed codsiderable freedom. Pastime and recreations varying naturally, according to the age and popular taste, included dramatic performances, playing on musical instruments, magic shows, and the game of dice with sundry items. The evils in the social life have also been duly noticed.

The economic life was fully developed, and, though Patañjali makes no mention of trade guilds noticed in earlier and later literature, he refers to many professions—the *Pañcakāruki*—the five artisan classes, workers in metals, masons and architects, domestic servants, cooks and confectioners, and other professions like those of the fowler and the fishermen. Agriculture and husbandry have also been considered, and there are references to the different types of land, methods of sowing, agricultural implements, seed and crops, irrigation facilities, reaping and cutting of the crop, grain storage and other such miscellaneous items relating to rural economy, as the hiring of agricultural labour. The subject of merchandise includes trade stipulations vendible commodities, earnest money and consideration, shop and markets, import and export of trade, medium of exchange, barter and banking. Patañjali provides information on all these topics. His reference to different types of coins—gold, silver and copper—are corroborated by the finds of punch-marked coins of copper and silver only. Weights and measures are also mentioned ensuring full value for the money paid in the daily transaction. Money lending was known and Patañjali also refers to the rate of interest. The Bhāṣyakāra

refers to the means of communication as well to the communication between the North and the South.

The educational life, traceable from the stray references in the *Mahābhāṣya*, was systematically planned. This chapter includes references to different subjects of study, especially for different classes, methods of study-deductive and inductive, place and time of study, the relations between the preceptor and his pupils, unworthy pupils and preceptors, types of educational institutions named after the teachers, writings, and female education. The picture painted by the Bhāṣyakāra is faithful and he has not failed to notice the shortcomings. Education was, to a great extent, free, and the teachers depended for livelihood on the munificence of the householders and on the gifts from the departing students, but some teachers known as *Khaṇḍikopādhyāya* did charge for their instruction. The student was expected to conform to the terms of residence, and any one seeking to enjoy a householder's life during this period was treated with contempt as a delinquent.

The accession to power of Puṣyamitra, the Brāhmaṇa general, raised high hopes for the revival of sacrifices as mentioned by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*. It would be unfair to suggest, on the basis of the account given by the *Divyāvadāna* and a later work, *Manjuśrīmūlakalpa*, that the Śuṅga monarch attempted to destroy Buddhist monasteries and was hostile to the faith of the Tathāgata. Were such the case, the Buddhist monuments at Bhārhut and Sāñcī could not have been set up in this period. It is better, therefore, to keep an open mind on the subject. Patañjali mentions different types of sacrifices *Agniṣṭoma*, *Rājasūya*, *Vājapeya* and the domestic ones, popularly called *Pākayajñas* and *Pañcayajñas*, the setting of the Yūpas, Soma drinking priests, accessories and duration of sacrifices. The Vedic practices were also symbolised with the Vedic divinities which are mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* along with other post-Vedic ones. The references to Bhāgavata and Śaiva cults suggest the prosperity of this popular phase of Brahmanism. Certain inscriptions also testify to the flourishing stage of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata cult, associated first with the Vṛṣṇis but later extended to the north-east. There were

temples in which images of these divinities were set up, and there were festival gatherings. Balarāma, Saṃkarṣaṇa and Aniruddha were associated with this cult. Patañjali mentions certain ascetic orders of the Parivrājakas, who believed in inactivity and carried three staves, the *Daṇḍakṣatris* with a single staff, and vagrant ones (*Yāyāvara*). The worship of the Yakṣas and the Nāgas with their female consorts was also known. Buddhism was not inactive, and it was steadily on the increase in the north, as suggested by Kern, during this period, and so also was Jainism with its centres at Mathura and in Kaliṅga. The materialists called Lokāyatikas, deriving their philosophy from Bhāguri, are also mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya.

In the chapter on literature, Patañjali's position as a scholar, conversant with the Vedic, Smṛti and classical literature has been assessed. Parallelism can be traced between the *Mahābhāṣya* and the Vedic literature on the one hand, and the Smṛtis on the other. It is natural that the Bhāṣyakāra should have utilised his Vedic knowledge in the service of grammar, but, as to the Smṛti passages, probably there was a common sources for both, and it would be unsafe to presume that he borrowed from the extant Smṛtis. The references to the *Vararuci Kāvya* and the use of several new metres in the *Mahābhāṣya* demand the presumption that the period of classical literature be pushed back earlier than assumed at present. Drama and dramatic literature were well-known, and in the light of references to actors and the staging of religious plays, it may be presumed that Indian drama and dramatic plays were certainly known in the time of Patañjali. Certain other data in the *Mahābhāṣya*, as for instance, those relating to popular literature, and maxims, philosophy, medicine and surgery, and flora and fauna, have also been considered. It is very probable that there was literature on practically all these subjects known to Patañjali. The Bhāṣyakāra made an earnest attempt to raise grammar to the standard of philosophy by introducing logical principles. Here particular mention may be made of the doctrine of *Sphoṭa*—the eternality of *Śabda*. Lastly, one has to take notice of Patañjali's style. He raises issues in the course of discussion and ultimately shows the way out of difficulties.

This involves some strain on the reader who has to follow up the discourse before realising the truth, and even the commentators were not free from doubts. It has not been possible to consider either the Pāli or Prākrit literature, as the present study from the literary standpoint is confined to the *Mahābhāṣya* alone. In writing this chapter, I have taken some help from Keith's *History of Sanskrit Literature* from which the translation of several passages have been adopted, and two excellent papers written by Mr. A. Ghosh and P. C. Chakravartty. The views expressed are personal after carefully sifting the data adduced by previous writers and adding whatever new matter I could avail of.

In the last chapter on Art and Architecture, the contribution of the Śuṅga period is assessed. It was a change from the Court art, confined to Mauryan places and monuments, to the folk art of the people. Now one gets a glimpse of the social life of the people of different classes. Wood is replaced by stone in this period. The famous Stupa at Bhārhut with its railing and *toraṇas* was set up in this period, but the case was different at Sāñchī, with the railing and *toraṇas* belonging to different periods. Both the schools were struggling against the trammels of archaism. The sculptor craved for a little freedom and a wider canvas to portray a variety of scenes representing episodes from the life of the Tathāgata. There is no ground for presuming from certain Kharoṣṭhī marks that Bhārhut was posterior to Sāñcī, or the former was influenced by foreign artists. The railing at Buddh-Gayā, and the Garuḍa-column at Vidiśā also belong to this period. The parent school of Mathurā was equally rich, and was especially interested in making Yakṣa and Yakṣi images. A few interesting sculptures and a statue of Balarāma, belonging to this period are also taken into account. The terracotta figurines, found at many ancient sites in the Ganga Valley are also considered. In this group the best specimen is that of Śrī-Mā, now in the Museum of Indian and Far Eastern Antiquities at Oxford. Cognizance is taken of the Cave temple architecture confined to the Sylvan hills of the Western Ghats. Its earlier phase, represented by Bhāja, Karle and Ajanta caves (nos. 9 and 10) dates back to this period. Lastly, the town and building

architectural plan, as seen in the monuments of this period, is also briefly observed.

Thus, the history and culture of this period has been considered in detail. The importance of the *Mahābhāṣya* from this standpoint can not be minimised. Every attempt has been made to corroborate the evidence afforded by this *Magnum opus*. It is certainly an authoritative piece of work, but to add weight other contemporary sources have also been tapped.

Lastly, I must not fail to express my gratitude to those who have been of great help to me in the preparation and publication of this work. My supervisors, the late Prof. F.W. Thomas, and Prof. T. Burrow spared no pains in going through this work in the manuscript stage. Prof. Burrow has further obliged me by writing an introduction to this work. I am also grateful to Dr. K.M. Munshi for writing a Foreword, and accepting this work in the Bhavans historical series. I am thankful to Dr. V.S. Agrawala for going through the manuscript and offering me a few suggestions. I am much obliged to Dr. Sampurnanand and Prof. Humayun Kabir for the interest taken in the work. The Central and Provincial governments have obliged me by granting me substantive subventions to meet the cost of its publication. Thanks are due to the Superintendent, Indian Museum, Calcutta; Director, Provincial Museum, Lucknow; Curator, Mathura Museum; and the Curator, Museum of and Indian Far Eastern Antiquities, Oxford, for permission to reproduce the photographs in this work. In the end, I must express my obligation to my elder brother Sri Bishwa Nath Puri, and the cooperation I received from my wife, Kanaklata Puri, M.A. The index has been prepared by my research pupil Mr. Shankar Nath, M.A., now an Exploration Assistant in the Archaeological Department.

B.N. PURI

Chapter 1

Introduction

Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* symbolises the perfection of the discipline in grammar introduced by Pāṇini[1] a few centuries earlier. This task involved a thorough investigation into the roots of language and the formation of words. It equally aimed at precision in expression with the use of terms whose parts in close harmony with each other could provide coherence in expression. The Bhāṣyakāra suggests that the object of grammar is to supply rules of control for current speech (*laukika*) for several reasons; the most important ones being the preservation of the integrity of the Vedas and the comprehension of proper meaning. At that time the Pāṇinian language was also in current use, but had a large admixture of corrupt words and even some foreign ones had crept into the current speech. As such, a codified grammar was needed for sieving out such words. The procedure adopted by Patañjali demanded profound penetration and perfection of all material relating to the Sanskrit language.

In this context the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, which continued to be the basis of grammatical research and standard of usage, was commented upon by the unknown authors of *Paribhāṣās* or explanations of single rules, followed by the Vārttikas (from *Vṛtti*-explanations) of Kātyāyana.[2] These formed the base for the great commentary—the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. The last sage, associated with the other two, thus constituted the *munitrayam* or 'the trinity of sages' with a divine status accorded to them in traditional accounts.[3] The importance of Patañjali and of his *magnum opus* can well be assessed in the light of the then prevailing literary ethos. At that time the Sūtras of Pāṇini in the light of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas had created some confusion in the minds of the Śiṣṭas, the well-read Brahmins of Āryāvarta, and Sanskrit was also losing its rightful place and popularity. Patañjali undertook the self-imposed responsibility to chasten the language and preserve its original character. He no doubt

conformed with the spirit of the time aiming at proper appreciation and understanding of Pāṇini's Sūtras in a scientific manner. This no doubt demanded proper examination of the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, his predecessor in a critical spirit.[4] This effort did not imply complete rejection of the explanation provided by his predecessor, or offering a blind support to Pāṇini. In fact, the real task of this great commentator was to discuss and offer comments on those Sūtras of Pāṇini which were objected to by Kātyāyana[5] and his reaction to such criticism. Some other aphorisms of the Sūtrakāra which were left out by the Vārttikakāra, were also brought within the purview of his comments. As such, this great commentator is not prejudiced against Kātyāyana. Actually, he sometimes endorses his predecessor's views and questions Pāṇini on certain matters which had escaped the attention of Kātyāyana. This led Kaiyaṭa,[6] the commentator on the *Mahābhāṣya* to lay down the rule that the 'later the *muni*, the greater is his authority', Patañjali, however, personally venerates his predecessor as authoritative with an open mind.[7] Nevertheless, the dictum of Kaiyaṭa has some value when recording the progress or the change in the Sanskrit dialect between the time of Pāṇini and Patañjali as noticed by Goldstucker.[8]

In providing a new setting to the Sūtras of a Pāṇini, taking into fuller consideration the objections and observations of Kātyāyana. Patañjali availed himself of the opportunity to present a picture of India of his time[9] through illustrations and examples of contemporary men and matters. This work also provides essence of all principles—religious, social, scientific and moral, as pointed out for the first time by Bhartṛhari, the author of *Vākyapadīya*.[10] He had written a running commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* as well which is, however, lost. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing,[11] however, notices this fact. He recommends its importance since this commentary bristled with worldly maxims, despite its chequered career localised in a narrow circle of friends. Scholars, like Max Müller and Weber, no doubt, suggest that the *Bhāṣya* has undergone manifold vicissitudes of fortune.[12] More than once it became *vicchinna* or displaced, and had to be arranged afresh. As such, the possibility of considerable changes, additions and interpolations in the text itself cannot be ruled out. Sometimes one is not sure of

associating a particular example or illustration to Patañjali and his time. It could be linked with later remodelling of the text or reversely to the time of Kātyāyana or even Pāṇini himself. One need be very cautious in such matters.

A critical study of the *Mahābhāṣya* from a historical viewpoint, however, would not fail to reveal the interest of the Bhāṣyakāra in contemporary events which could be easily accepted as authentic. The interest of the readers was uppermost in his mind and he could never have contemplated taxing the memory of those interested in his comments through unfamiliar and obsolete facts and events while providing illustrations. The historical and cultural data could, no doubt, be traced amidst a mass of grammatical formulae with annotations and explanations with a keen insight and correct perspective. In this context it would be necessary first to ascertain the date of Patañjali on the basis of the evidence provided by the text itself and consider the question of the identity of the Bhāṣyakāra and the Yogasūtrakāra.

Patañjali's Time

Direct and conclusive evidence on the date of Patañjali and his *Mahābhāṣya* is adduced by the work itself, which can no doubt be corroborated by external evidence provided by other contemporary sources. While scholars in the past threshed out this question[13] and suggested dates ranging from the tenth century BC to the fourth century AD for the period of Bhāṣyakāra and his grammatical composition, the testimony of the *Mahābhāṣya*, however, is quite clear. Nevertheless, the views proposed earlier based on the sources of information might be considered here. The earliest date suggested by N. Bhāṣyacāra[14] in the tenth century BC hardly needs any comment, as Patañjali could never have foreseen rulers like Candragupta and Puṣyamitra or the invasion of the Yavanas centuries ahead. Aspersions cast against western scholarship in the paper of this scholar are uncalled for, and so are the arguments which are weak and puerile.

The lowest limit placed by Peterson[15] in the fourth century AD is based on Patañjali's reference to Puṣyamitra of the Bhitari pillar inscription who were defeated by Skandagupta. Reference is also made to I-tsing's commentary on Patañjali's work enti-

tled *Cũrṇi*.[16] R.G. Bhandarkar controverted[17] Peterson's theory by pointing out the improbability of this date and the identity of Puṣyamitra with Puṣpamitras of the Bhitari record. Reference to the Mauryas and the Yavanas in the *Mahābhāṣya* in this context rule out the possibility of the fourth century date for Patañjali. Further, the proposed identification is untenable because the Śuṅga ruler—Puṣyamitra—cannot be equated with the people—Puṣpamitras of the Gupta record.[18] Moreover, this identification belies Kalhaṇa's statement[19] about Abhimanyu patronising the study of *Mahābhāṣya* which had a chequered history.

Weber considered the data from the *Mahābhāṣya* at great length in his paper published in *Indische Studien*,[20] as also in the *Indian Antiquary*.[21] The date proposed by this professor, however, evoked interest amongst Indian scholars, especially R.G. Bhandarkar who joined issues with him on this point in the same journal. According to Weber, 'When we adduce and criticise the testimonies of the *Vākyapadīya* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, as quoted by Goldstucker, the final conclusion, at which we arrive at, is that Patañjali lived about 25 after Christ.' He puts inbetween the years AD 5-45, according to Lassen's reckoning of Abhimanyu's accession, the besieging of Sāketa by Kaniṣka who was ill-disposed towards the Mādhyamikas in the interest of the Hīnayānas and the composition of the *Mahābhāṣya*. As regards the reference to Puṣpamitras, he suggested that Patañjali did not live at that time, but the memory of the king continued to be cherished at that time.

The twisting of the passage referring to the besiege of Sāketa and Mādhyamika by the Yavanas to suit his line of arguments puts Weber in an awkward position. His identification of Mādhyamika with the school founded by Nāgārjuna has no basis, while the attempt to foist the Yavana enterprise on Kaniṣka[22] creates a difficult situation. The root *rudh* meaning 'to besiege' or 'blockade' could only apply to a place or people and not to sects. Being associated with Sāketa identified with Ayodhyā, the other place Mādhyamikā too must be a place or the people of that place, as Kern also pointed out in his preface to his edition of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* on the authority of the Saṃhitā itself. The explanation proposed by him in trying to conjoin

several facts at a particular time is rather confusing and his theory is untenable.

The other dates suggested by scholars are: Bohtlingk[23] and Max Müller [24] (200 BC), Goldstucker[25] and R.G. Bhandarkar[26] (144-142 BC), and Keith[27] (150 BC). These scholars based their arguments on the passages relating to the Yavana invasions associated with Demetrius and Menander, the performance of sacrifice at the instance of Puṣyamitra, the assembly of Puṣyamitra—incidentally in another text the assembly of Candragupta is also mentioned in this context, and the reference to the gold images disposed of by the Mauryas. These passages providing historical basis for this work, may now be considered afresh.

The most important passage[28] relates to a rule (Vārttika) laid down by Kātyāyana (Vārttika 2 on Pāṇini, III.2.111) that the imperfect should be used to signify an action not witnessed by the speaker but capable of being witnessed by him and known to people in general, Patañjali in this context cites two instances: The Yavanas besieged Sāketa (*arunad Yavanaḥ Sāketam*) and the Yavanas besieged Mādhyamika (*aruṇad Yavano Mādhyamikāni*), The siege of Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and Mādhyamikā (Chittor), and not the school of Mādhyamikas as suggested by Weber, should be considered to be the events capable of being witnessed by the speaker, that is, Patañjali himself. The ideas of the Yavanas and their besieging the two places mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra need proper investigation in this context.

The *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgīsaṃhitā*[29] and the *Mālavikāgnimitram*[30] of Kālidāsa no doubt provide evidence about Yavana invasions—the former refers to the Yavana forces reaching Pāṭaliputra after occupying Sāketa, (the country of) Pañcāla, and (the city of) Mathurā, and beseiging Kusumadhvaja (Pāṭaliputra). The latter source notices the defeat of the Yavana forces by Vasumitra, grandson of Puṣyamitra at the time of the horse sacrifice performed by the first Śuṅga monarch. The performance of this ritual symbolising paramountcy by Puṣyamitra—not once but twice—is mentioned in the Ayodhyā inscription[31] of Dhanadeva who was sixth in descent from the Śuṅga General. The two historical events connected with the invasion of the Yavanas and the performance of horse sacri-

fice—both might be once or twice—seem inter-linked and Puṣyamitra played an active role in these historic events. Patañjali very probably witnessed both as might be evident not only from the Bhāṣyakāra's comment on the Vārttika relating to the use of the imperfect tense but also from his comment on another Vārttika.

In his remark on III.2.123, the Bhāṣyakāra quotes[32] a Vārttika of Kātyāyana which enjoins the use of the present tense *laṭ* for an action or undertaking which has begun but not finished. Here he quotes the example of performing as priests the sacrifice instituted by Puṣyamitra (*iha Puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ*). He was a local priest (*iha vasāmaḥ*) and seems to be associated with the Śuṅga ruler and his court. The sense conveyed by the use of this tense is that when an action such as that of studying or performing the great sacrifice spreads over many days, the present tense should be used to denote it. Its relevance is to the action which has begun but has not ended, even though at the time of speaking the speaker may not be actually performing the action.

This is not a solitary reference to Puṣyamitra by name. The Bhāṣyakāra records it in another context as well. In his comment on the Vārttika *Jitaparyāyavacanasyaiva rājady-artham* under rule I.1.68 (7) indicating that a *Tatpuruṣa samāsa* ending with the word *sabhā*—court is neuter, provided it is preceded by the word *rājan*, or a word denoting a non-human being, but not when it is compounded with the name of a particular king. Patañjali cites as an instance *Puṣyamitrasabhā*[33]—the assembly of Puṣyamitra.

The name of the Śuṅga monarch is quoted once again by the Bhāṣyakāra in his comment on the Sūtra *hetumati ca*.[34] This Sūtra enjoins the use of the affix *ṇic* after a root, when the operation of a causer, such as command is expressed. Here Patañjali cites: 'Puṣyamitra sacrifices (*yajate*) and the sacrificial priests cause him to sacrifice.' According to Pāṇini's rule, the order should be, Puṣyamitra causes (the priests) to sacrifice and the priests (*yājaka*) cause him to perform it (*yājayanti*).

Now leaving aside the grammatical implications in all these four instances, it seems certain that Patañjali indented upon contemporary events and personalities to illustrate his comments as were familiar to his readers. These as well suggest consistency

in his approach. The Mauryan passage cited by scholar[35] only suggests the *terminus a que*—the starting point or the upper level for fixing Patañjali's time. Commenting on the Sūtra *jīvikārthe ca paṇye* (V.3.99)—suggesting that 'in the case of a life sustenance, serving an object which is an image/*pratikṛti* the affix *ka* is not used except where the object is vendible, Patañjali cites[36] as examples the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha where the rule of affixing *ka* does not apply. The gold coveting Mauryas had caused images of the gods to be sold (*arcayaḥ*), hence the termination *ka* cannot be dropped in accordance with the above rule, and they should be Śivakaḥ, Skandakaḥ and Viśākhakaḥ, but they are called Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ and Viśākaḥ, possibly the rule applies only in such cases, where these images provide living for the person who exhibits them to householders. Patañjali's contemporaneity with the Mauryan emperor is no doubt negated by the fact that he could not have called his patron or the family to which he belonged as greedy and gold coveting (*hiraṇyarthin*). It seems to have been an event of the past, may be of the time of the later Mauryan rulers when political difficulties or economic factors might have compelled them to raise money through the sale of gold images.

The internal evidence provided by this text of the *Mahābhāṣya*, no doubt, provides conclusive evidence for Patañjali's time in the Śuṅga period and his association with the founder of this dynasty, Puṣyamitra. As regards the composition of this work, particularly the portion in which we find references to the invasions of the Yavanas and the performance of sacrifice, it must have been written either in the early part of the career of Puṣyamitra or when he was at the height of his power. It is equally likely that there might have been two Yavana invasions, the first one when the Indo-Greeks were aggressive and had an upper hand with their onslaught resulting in the final besiege of Pāṭaliputra (Kusumadhvaja), and the next one when they took up cudgels against the Śuṅgas and were defeated. Patañjali seems to have witnessed both the events, which he duly records in his work. A detailed study of these events would be made in the next chapter on 'Political History', in the context of other happenings as well, particularly the contemplated Puṣyamitra's relationship and contemporaneity with Khāravela.[37]

The external evidence, adduced by the commentary on this

grammatical text by Bhartṛhari,[38] as mentioned by I-tsing and the decay of the text at the hands of logicians named Baji, Saubhava and Haryakṣa who undermined its importance with a view to extol logistic principles, does not shed any light on Patañjali and his times. So also are the references to the revival of the study of *Mahābhāṣya* by Candrācārya and Vasurāta, and the patronage extended by Abhimanyu of any relevance to the date of Patañjali. These hardly need any comment, except that a chequered history of the *Mahābhāṣya* and its study might be traced.

The text of the *Mahābhāṣya* in its present form remains the best piece of evidence on the date of Patañjali. There is also consistency in the references to men and matters quoted by Patañjali by way of instances or illustrations. The Yavana invasions seem to have happened in the time of the Bhāṣyakāra, and so also the reference to Puṣyamitra and his assembly as well as the sacrifices performed by this ruler suggest that the Bhāṣyakāra participated in the religious activities of his patron. The time of this commentator was sufficiently close to the period of the later Mauryas when the memory of the founder of this family had not faded out. For the orthodox Brahmins Candragupta was not a personality worth reverence, and the reference to *Candraguptasabhā* has nothing to do with Patañjali's date and his contemporaneity with the Mauryan ruler, the more so because the name of Puṣyamitra and his court also figures (*Puṣyamitrasabhā*) in that context. It may, therefore, be safely suggested that Patañjali was the contemporary of Puṣyamitra and he wrote his *magnum opus* when the political situation had stabilised after the Yavana invasions and the Śuṅga general had performed the horse sacrifice to vindicate his position. He might have been a younger contemporary and could be placed in *c.* 150 BC, a date suggested much earlier by R.G. Bhandarkar[39] and later on by Keith as well. The identical of this Bhāṣyakāra with the Yogasūtrakāra, as proposed by some scholars, however, demands closer scrutiny.

The Two Patañjalis and Their Identity

The question of the indentity of Patañjali the Bhāṣyakāra with Patañjali the Yogasūtrakāra, engaged the attention of several scholars without achieving unanimity. Liebich[40] and Chakra-

varty[41] identify the two but Renou,[42] Woods[43] and Jacobi[44] distinguish the two. The advocates of the identity theory base their arguments on a number of identical and complimentary factors noticed in the two works, such as, the opening part with similar aphorisms (*atha śabdānuśāsanam* and *atha yogānuśāsanam*), absence of criticism on the doctrine of *Sphoṭa* in the *Yogasūtra*, despite its repeated notice by all philosophical schools, and the reference to Yoga in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Reference is also made to Bhartṛhari's allusion[45] to *Yogaśāstra* purging the mind of all foul effects (*yujate Yogam Brahmacārī*, I.148) in context with his eulogy of the *Mahābhāṣya*. It is also suggested by way of negative arguments that since the two works deal with altogether different topics, having practically nothing in common, it is difficult to trace parallelism in both the texts.

In reply to these arguments, Renou and others have advanced their views from the grammatical and philosophical viewpoints. Grammatical terminology like *pratyāhāra*, *upasarga*, *pratyaya*, and *vikaṛṇa* etc. appear in the *Yogasūtra* with different values. The late French Indologist expressed surprise at the non-utilization of the values of *ca*, *vi*, *iti* etc. in this work, and its language points to a development in the sense of analysis. The style and combination of words are also taken into consideration Jacobi discussing at length the difference in the philosophical ideas underlying the two works, placed the *Yogasūtra* to a later period with the adoption of the original heterodox doctrines. The allusions to Buddhist doctrines in the *Yogasūtra* are also suggestive of its later character, sometimes after the fifth century AD Jacobi summed up his arguments that 'since the author of the *Yogasūtra* does not conform to the grammatical rules taught by the *Mahābhāṣya*, and because the latter is ignorant of the philosophical views of the former, they cannot be identified but must be two different persons.'

Wood translating the *Yogabhāṣya*[46] (*c.* 650-550 BC) suggested that the work does not contain any allusion more or less direct to the theory of the unity of the parts of concrete substances, as set forth in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The divergent conceptions of the two works, at least in regard to the question of substance (*dravya*) and quality (*guṇa*) nullify the identity theory. Barnett also referred[47] to the weakness of the tradition attributing the

Sūtra (Yoga) to Patañjali (Bhāṣyakāra). Keith[48] is more emphatic on this point. According to him, 'the *Yogasūtra* is ascribed to Patañjali, and the similarity of name has led to the foolish identification of the philosopher with the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*. The *Yogasūtra* is a confused text, intelligible only by the aid of the *Yogabhāṣya* ascribed to Vyāsa.

The identity theory has been proposed probably on the strength of some Indian commentators who identified the two Patañjalis. These include Rāmabhadra, the writer of the *Patañjalicarita*, who could not have flourished earlier than the eighteenth century and Śivarāma (18th cent.); King Bhoja of Dhar and Cakrapāṇidatta (11th cent.), the commentator of *Caraka*, who flourished in the eleventh century AD. According to Cakrapāṇi, the mythical serpent chief, removed the defects of mind, speech and body by his *Patañjala Mahābhāṣya* and the revision of *Caraka*. It is proposed by S.N. Dasgupta[49] that the later Indian commentators might have made some confusion between the three Patañjalis, the grammarian, the Yoga-editor and the medical writer, to whom is ascribed the book known as *Patañjalatantra*, and who has been quoted by Śivadāsa in his commentary on *Cakradatta* in connection with the heating of metals. Thus, we need not accept the tradition of later commentators as a sufficient ground to identify the two Patañjalis.

Besides these two or three Patañjalis, there was yet another one, the author of *Nidānasūtra*.[50] K.C. Bhatnagar editing this work has quoted the *Berlin Catalogue* and Max Müller's *Sadagurusiṣya* (AD 1187?) in his comment on Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī* with a view to suggest that the Bhāṣyakāra, the Yogasūtrakāra and the author of the *Nidānasūtra* were really one person (*Yogācāryaḥ svayam kartā yoga-śāstranidānayoḥ*). As pointed out earlier, traditional accounts, based on Śivarāma's comment on the *Vāsavadattā*,[51] as well as on *Patañjalicarita*[52] of Rāmabhadra, suggest that Patañjali wrote three works—one on Yoga, the second one on grammar, and the third one on medicine as recorded by Cakrapāṇi.[53] The *Yuktidīpikā*[54] refers to another Patañjali. It may be interesting to point out that in course of time Patañjali's name like that of Vedic *ṛṣis* came to be associated in the formation of the *gotras*. An inscription[55] from Narendra of the time of Vikramāditya and

the Kadamba ruler Jayakeśin II refers to Patañtali, the grammarian with his qualities imbibed by the ruler (*Śabdāvidyā Patañjaliḥsaḥ*)[56]. It is more in line with the internal evidence furnished by the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Yogasūtra*, taking into account the style, subject matter, disparity in language involving grammatical omissions in the other work, to distinguish the two more Patañjalis rather than to accept their identity for namesake.

Patañjali's Parentage and Birth-place

The evidence on both these points has to be traced in the *Mahābhāṣya* itself. Traditional accounts no doubt suggest Patañjali's birth in mysterious circumstances. The two terms *Goṇikāputra*[57] and *Goṇardīya*[58] are suggestive of his mother's name and his association with a place named Goṇavda respectively. The former stands in analogy to *Dākṣīputra* and the latter to *Śālātūrīya* by which Pāṇini was known[59], though Hemacandra calls him *Śālātūrīya* in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi.*[60] *Goṇikāputra* and *Goṇardīya*[61] are mentioned by Vātsyāyana as authors on dramaturgy, but there is no ground for identifying them with the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Nāgojibhaṭṭa, however, equates *Goṇikāputra* with the Bhāṣyakāra.[62] According to R.G. Bhandarkar,[63] the term *Goṇardīya* is suggestive of Patañjali as an inhabitant of Gonda in Oudh (now Uttar Pradesh). He contended that according to the usual rules of corruption, the Sanskrit *rḍa* (in the Prākṛts is corrupted into *ḍḍa*, but sometimes it is also changed into and as hasty pronunciation sometimes elides the *a*, and in the later stages of the development of Prākṛts, one of the similar consonants is rejected, so *Goṇarda* becomes Gonda. He also referred to two passages from the *Mahābhāṣya* testifying to the composition of the work at a place somewhere in between Mathurā and Pāṭliputra.[64]

Weber presumed[65] the ingenuity of the conclusion reached by Bhandarkar, because of the different interpretation of the word *pūrvam* in the passage *Māthuryaḥ Pāṭaliputram pūrvam*. According to him, it gave just the opposite direction implying that Pāṭliputra was situated between the speaker and Mathurā, and the speaker, therefore, must have lived to the east of the former. Weber suggested that Patañjali had visited different parts of India, as he was writing the *Mahābhāṣya*. His dwelling

place could hardly be ascertained from these passages, which have no relevance to the subject of enquiry.

P.C. Chakravarty, however, contended that Patañjali belonged to southern India and had intimate knowledge of that part of the country as could be inferred from the *Mahābhāṣya* itself. The Bhāṣyakāra certainly speaks of the linguistic characteristics of the Deccan, that is of using words in *taddhit* suffixes, as for example *laukike* and *vaidike* in place of *loke* and *vede*. The reference to lakes and ponds, popularly called *sarasi* in the Deccan is also cited as a piece of evidence to support his contention. It appears that Chakravarty lost sight of the fact that Patañjali, while speaking of the directions and occasionally of distances from one part or city to another in Madhyadeśa or Āryāvarta of which he defines even the boundaries, does not record the exact location of Coda, Kerala, Kaḍera and Paṇḍya in the South. This omission rules out the possibility of his birth in the South or even close association with it. It is very likely that he lived close to Pāṭaliputra where he was enjoying the patronage of the Śuṅga ruler Puṣyamitra whom he quotes several times in his work.

Precise details about Patañjali's life, his place of birth and personality, may be missing, except for what the later traditional accounts provide for us, but the importance of this work cannot be undermined. It is the most authoritative piece of evidence about Puṣyamitra and his times. It mirrors the contemporary events of historical importance as also provides data for reconstructing the cultural ethos of that period in all its facets. The Bhāṣyakāra also closes the list of ancient grammarians. He exposes effectively the discipline in grammar meant for a language, not dead but very much living, although restricted only to the Śiṣṭas, the elite Brāhmaṇas of Āryāvarta.

References

[1]Pāṇini's recognition as a great grammarian is evident from the epithets—*ācāryā*, *bhagavan* and *sūkrit*, accorded to him by Kātyāyana (*bhagavataḥ Pāṇiner siddham*—under VIII.4.68; *ācāry-ācarāt saṃjñā siddhiḥ*—under I.1.1) and by Patañjali (*pramāṇabhūta ācaryaḥ*—under I.1.1; *bhagavataḥ Pāṇinerācāryasya*—under VII.1.1.) According to Goldstucker, "Pāṇini was not the inventor of grammatical system preserved in his work though he improved the system of his predecessors, made his

own addition to it and availed himself of the technical aid of the old grammarians", *Pāṇini and His Place in Literature*—(henceforth Goldstucker, *Pāṇini*, p. 88). It is also suggested that Pāṇini was more a *prāvaktṛ* than the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.—(Parvate, *The Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī*, p. 123—henceforth Parvate, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*). but the use of such words like *praṇayatisma*, *prayumte*, *karoti*, *kriyante*, *kartā*, *pathatam*, *sāsti* etc. in the *Mahābhāṣya* in the context of Pāṇini definitely confirm his status as the author of the great *magnum opus* of grammar. (P.S. Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī, *Lectures on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*—henceforth Śāstrī, *Lectures*, vol. I, p. xiii). The date of Pāṇini is uncertain, according to Keith (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*—henceforth Keith, *HSL*, p. 425). In his words, 'it seems needless to carry back Pāṇini beyond the fourth century; if he flourished *c.* 350 then Kātyāyana, who may be placed *c.* 250-200 BC, might easily have found sufficient divergence of speech to justify his corrections. To assign Pāṇini to the sixth or seventh cetury BC on the score of change in language appears to lack any plausibility (ibid., p. 428), of also Keith, *HOS*, XVIII, pp. clxviiif; *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 21ff; Lüders, *SBA*, 1919, p. 714; Liebich, *Pāṇini* (1891); Kielhorn, *GN*, 1885, pp. 185ff; Wecker, *Bezz Beitr*, XXXp.1ff; 177ff. Belvalkar, however, places him between *c* 700-600 BC, *A System of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 15; see also R.C. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, XVI, pp. 340f; Keith. *IOC*, II p. 242. According to Levi (*JA*. 1890. 1.234ff), the *Gaṇapātha* mentions names of Ambhnana Bhagala, corresponding to Omphis and Pheglees of the time of Alexander, the Great. Winternitz places Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in or about 350 BC as he mentions Yāska and Śaunāka. S.N. Dasgupta places him in the fourth century BC as the generally accepted date (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*—henceforth *History*, p. 6 and n). V.S. Agrawal taking into consideration the various dates assigned by scholars to Pāṇini ranging from the seventh to the fourth century BC proposes a date nearer the fifth century BC as more probable on the basis of the available data (*India as Known to Paṇini*—henceforth Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 477).

[2]According to Keith, Kātyāyana probably lived in the third century BC though no strict proof is possible. This date really defends on the fact that he did not long precede Patañjali. The impression left by Kātyāyana's Vārttikas is certainly that sometimes, not by any means always, he is attacking or correcting Patañjali on the score of differences in usage which had arisen between the time of the two, while with Patañjali it seems as if he and Kātyāyana were parted by no great interval of time (Keith, op. cit , p. 426). According to Goldstucker, Kātyāyana did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pāṇini, but to find fault with them, and he does the impression of an admirer or friend of Pāṇini (op. cit , p. 91). Kielhorn worked out the relation between the two on the basis of the Vārttikas of Pāṇini's Sūtras and the comments of Patañjali. From a study of all the 85 *āhṇikas* of the *Mahābhāṣya* of about 1700 Sūtras discussed there, about 450 have no Vārttikas. Of the remaining 1250 Sūtras, more than 700 are beautifully explained by the Varttikakāra without picking any hole in them. Nearly 10 Sūtras are

found unnecessary. In the majority of the remaining 250 Sūtras, only additions and corrections, or more correctly changes in form and meaning are made (quoted by Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī, op. cit., pp. xxviiiff) According to Kielhorn (*Kātyāyana and Patañjali*, p. 48), the object of the Vārttikas is then no other than this, without bias or prejudice to discuss such objections as might be raised to the rule of Pāṇini's grammar, and on the one hand to justify Pāṇini by defending him against unfounded criticism, and on the other hand to correct, reject, and add to the rules laid down by him where defence and justification were considered impossible. Kātyāyana's birthplace, his merits and the relationship of the Vārttikas to Pāṇini' Sūtras are considered by Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī (op. cit., pp. xxviiiff); but these are not necessary here.

[3]According to the traditional account given by Rāmabhadra in his *Patañjalicarita*, he was an incarnation of Śeṣa and that accounts for the *Mahābhāṣya* being also known as *Phaṇibhāṣya* (*Phaṇibhāṣita bhāṣyabdheḥ śabdakaustubha uddhṛitaḥ* – cf. Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, *Vaiyākaraṇa bhūṣaṇa* Rāmabhadra describes in detail the story of Patañjali's birth. Goṇikā, the daughter of a *muni*, gave *arghya* to Sun-god praying for a son. The Śeṣa made an appearance in the form of a sage, and falling from the *añjali* or cavity of Goṇikā, he was known as Patañjali (*tavanjalau mahābhāga patito 'ham hitaya te—Patañjalicarita*, II.8). According to Nāgojibhaṭṭa, he is said to have fallen from the *añjali* or cavity of a sage while performing his daily worship in the city of Gonardda. After the fall, he assumed the shape of a boy, and obtaining permission from Goṇika, his mother, he proceeded to the southern coast for the performance of *tapasa* or penance. (*Gonarddeśe kaśyacid ṛṣer añjaleḥ sandhyākaraṇasamaye patitā ity aitihyam*). The *Bṛhadgaṇeśa-kalpalatā* records the fall of Śeṣa as ordained by Gaṇeśa into the hand of a sage and divulging the secret of his ascetic form to him. (P.C. Chakravarty, *IHQ*, II, p. 262).

[4]Rāmabhadra cites a few *ślokas* in connection with the birth of Patañjali, was to reprieve the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana justify Pāṇini and explain his Sūtras:

Kātyāyanaḥ karkaśayā prāsādya tapasyayā candrakalāvatamsam tasyathā sūtreṣu padārtham-bodha pravartakam vārtiikam ābabandha. 1.52
Prayuktayā vyākarāṇasya suttraiḥ savārttikaḥ sādhutayā padānām adugdha gaur laukika-vaidikātmā cirāya dugdham trividham janānām. 1.53
Śratvā nijaśyopari vārttikāni sūtîaprabandhasya sa sūtrakāraḥ Katyāyanena grathitāny ākupya kālo hi dhire'pi karoti moham. 1.54
Prakampitoṣṭham parivartitākṣam pādākramanyāñcita bhūmibhāgam tamaśramam Pāṇinir ajagāma Kātyayanas tiṣṭhoti yatra yogi. 1.55

One may not agree with Rāmabhadra, especially on the aspersions cast against Kātyāyana in the light of Kielhorn's analysis of Vārttikas, but it is rather certain that Patañjali provided explanatory notes for a clear understanding of Pāṇini's Sūtras. Har Prasad Śāstrī also contends that

Patañjali wrote his *Bhāṣya* for a language which was fast losing its popularity. It is a well-known fact that at that time literary vernaculars had grown up in different areas, and he was legislating for the speech of the Śiṣṭās—the learned Brahmins of Āryāvarta. (*JBORS*, II, pp. 32-33). This class was not only learned (*vidyāyaḥ pāraṅgataḥ*), but equally contended with stocked grain (*kumbhīdhānyaḥ mānakāraṇaḥ*—VI.3.109).

[5]*Kātyāyana and Patañjali*, pp. 50ff.

[6]*Yathottaram munitrayasya pramāṇyam*—comment on I.1.29.

[7]*Vārttikavacanapramāṇya*—II.1.1., p. 371; 1.18; cf. other references to Vārttikakāra—I.1.34, p. 93; 1.5, III.1.44, p. 53; 1.1, III.2.118, p. 121; VIII. 1.1, p. 238; 1.9.

[8]Goldstucker assesses Pāṇini's position as an author of Vārttikas He had of course two predecessors to deal with—one of whom was an adversary of the other, and had to perform the double task, now of criticising Pāṇini, and then of animadverting upon Kātyāyana. Therefore, in order to show where he coincided with, or when he differed from the criticisms of Kātyāyana, he had to write a comment on the Vārttikas of the later grammarian. Thus, the *Mahābhāṣya* became not only a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, but also, as the case might be, a critical discussion on the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, while its *iṣṭis*—additions—on the other hand, are original Vārttikas on such Sūtras of Pāṇini as called for his original remarks—*Paṇini*, p. 119.

[9]These illustrations or examples in the *Mahābhāṣya* are styled *murdhābhiṣikta* or consecrations on the head (see *Indicshe Studien*, XIII, p. 315) without providing the slightest clue to their merit or classification in this category, (Weber, *History of Indian Literature* (*HIL*), p. 225n). The stock-illustrations—*murdhābhiṣikta udāharaṇa*—to which Patañjali also refers (I.1,57. p. 144) were so called because in the words of Kaiyaṭa, they were accepted in common usage by all commentators (*svara-vṛttis-udāhṛtatvāt*). Patañjali's cites certain contemporary events and personalities of national importance which rule out the possibility of their classed as stock-illustrations.

[10]II.484-88. Bhartṛhari records the necessity of this great commentary (*Mahābhāṣya*) which Patañjali wrote to preserve the continuity of *Vyākaraṇasmṛti*—traditional grammatical rules. In this work he tried to put in the essence of all science—the germs of all principles (*Sarveṣām nyāhvījñānām Mahābhāṣye nibandhane*. II.485). He also refers to the decline of interest in this work, and its revival in the south (*yaḥ Patañjaliśiṣyebho bhraṣṭo vyākaraṇāgamaḥ; kāle sa ḍakṣiṇātyeṣu granthamātre vyavasthītaḥ*. II.488.

[11]According to this last important Chinese traveller, there was a commentary on the *Vṛttisūtra* called *Cūrṇi*, containing 24000 *ślokas* which was a work of the learned people. (Translation by Takakasu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* by I-tsing, p. 178.) The pilgrim places Bhartṛhari forty yeary earlier from his arrival in India in AD 691, viz. *c.* AD 651. His other work *Vākyapadīya* deals mainly with the philosophy of speech. For a comprehensive study of Bhartṛhari and his speech, see K.A.

Subramania Iyer, *Bhartṛhari—A Study of the Vākyapadyīa in the Light of the Ancient Commentaries*, chap. I, pp 1ff. A fragment of the commentary of Bhartṛhari on the *Mahābhāṣya* upto 1.1.53 is noticed in this work (p. 4). This unique manuscript now in Tubingen (Federal German Republic), has been edited by V. Swaminathan. (See *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, XXVII, pts. I-IV, pp. 59ff). See also Kielhorn, *IA*, XII, pp. 226ff; Pathak, *JBBRAS*, XVIII pp 341ff; Weber, *HIL*, pp. 225-6; Keith, *HSL*, p 429; Dasgupta and De, op cit., p. 669.

[12]*IS*, XIII, p. 315; *HIL*, pp. 225n, 226. Kielhorn is opposed to the view that 'at some time or other the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* had been lost, that it had to be reconstructed' etc. He could only 'perhaps allow a break so far as regards its traditional interpretation, and regard the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* as given in our MSS to be the same as existed about 2000 years ago (*IA*, IV, p. 108).

[13]Goldstucker, *Pāṇini*, pp. 228ff; Weber. *IS*, V, pp. 147ff; Peterson, *JBBRAS*, XVI, pp. 181ff; R.G. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, XVI, 1885, pp. 199ff, also *Collected Works*, vol. I, pp. 157ff; Liebich, *Pāṇini*, pp. 511ff; *Indische Inschriften*, p. 72; N. Bāsyachāra, *The Age of Patañjali* The Adyar Library Series, no. 1, p. 15; H.P. Śāstrī, *JASB*, 6, 1910, p. 261; Winternitz, *Geschiste Iudischen Literatur*, III, pp. 369ff; Smith, *EHI*. pp. 227-9; Keith, *IOC*, II, pp. 243ff; *HSL*, pp. 427ff; Poussain. *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, pp. 199ff; D.C. Sircar, *IHQ*, XV, pp. 39, 633ff; Belvalkar *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, pp. 32ff; S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. De, *HSL*, p. 636.

[14]Op. cit.

[15]Op. cit.

[16]It is by this name that Indurāja quotes the *Mahābhāṣya* in his commentaries in *Udbhaṭālamkāra*, Dasgupta and De, op. cit., p. 671.

[17]Op. cit , pp. 191ff. See also *Collected Works* vol. I, pp. 157ff. Bhandarkar questioned several statements of Peterson. Thus 'to speak of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* as a commentary on the *Kāśikā* is to speak something that is absurd. The author of the *Kāśikā* himself tells us that his work is based among other works on the *Bhāṣya* which can be no other than the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and there is internal evidence at every step to show that it is based on that work' (p. 158). He also questioned the reading the word 'Puṣyamitras in the Bhitari record (ibid. p. 181).

[18]Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, *CII*, p. 52, 1.11. The Purāṇas mention a people called Puṣyamitras whose rule commenced after the end of the dynasties of the Vindhyakas. According to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, as quoted by Wilson (IV, pp. 212- 3), Puṣpamitra, Paṭumitras and others to the number of thirteen will rule over Mekala. He also pointed out that it seemed most correct to separate the thirteen sons or families of the Vindhya princes from those Bāhlikas, and then from the Puṣyamitras and Paṭumitras who governed Mekala, a country on the Narmadā. The *Vāyupurāṇa* groups the two with the rulers of Mekala:

Puṣyamitra bhaviṣyanti Paṭumitras trayodaśa
Mekalāyām nṛipaḥ saptabhaviṣyant-iha saptatim. (Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p.51)

[19]*Candrācāryādibhir labdhya deśam tasmāt tadāgamam pravartitam Mahābhāṣyam svam ca Vyākaraṇam kṛitam.* I 176. According to Kalhaṇa, Candrācārya and others introduced the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* in Kaśmīra in the reign of Abhimanyu. This is confirmed by the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari, mentioning the revival of the study of the grammatical commentary by Candrācārya. He, however, does associate Abhimanyu in this revival. At another place in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa refers to King Jayāpīda who is supposed to have ruled from AD 775 to 786 re-introducing the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* which had ceased to exist in his realm (IV.488). In the same chronicle, Huṣka and Kaṇṣika immediately precede Abhimanyu, and as such the composition of the *Mahābhāṣya* is to be assigned to a date much earlier than the one proposed by Peterson. Keith doubted the date of Abhimanyu, but accepted Bhartṛhari's reference to the study of the text long before his time (*c.* AD 650) *HSL*, p. 428. R.G. Bhandarkar laid down the correct principle in regard to such a professedly historical work as the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to accept such statements as are not improbable in themselves and do not go against stronger and more reliable evidence (*Collected Works*, I, p. 165).

[20]Op. cit., XIII, pp. 365ff; 477ff.

[21]Vol. II, pp. 57ff; 210ff. The controversy between R.G. Bhandarkar and Weber was carried at length in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* on 'the date of Patañjali and the king in whose reign he lived'. For a complete text of Bhandarkar's papers on the subject, see his *Collected Works*, vol. I, pp. 108, 115.

[22]D.C. Sircar suggests that the work in its present form does not appear to much earlier than the Kusāṇa period. He bases his arguments on the reference to the quotations from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa*, the flourishing age of the Kāvya literature, use of metres which are supposed to be of later times, and the reference to the *vyūhas* of Kṛṣṇa and the Śakas. At the close of his arguments he proposes that Patañjali was himself a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga but his work, the original *Mahābhāṣya*, was revised and enlarged by early grammarians of his school (*IHQ*, XV, pp. 633ff). Sircar is not sure of his contention (ibid., p. 638).

[23]Pāṇini's *Gramatik*, p. x.

[24]*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 244. The late Oxford Professor was not certain about the probable date of its composition. He suggested that we would not be very far from wrong in placing the composition of the original grammar and of the supplementary rules of Kātyāyana on the threshold of the third century BC. At what time the *Mahābhāṣya* was composed it would be difficult to say. Further he pointed out that 'as an experiment we propose to fix the years 600 and 200 BC as the limits of that age during which the Brahmanic literature was carried on in the strange style of Sūtras,

[25]*Pāṇini*, p. 239. He proposed that Patañjali must have written his commentary on the Vārttika to Pāṇini, III.2.111 between 140 and 120 BC and this is the only date in the ancient literature of India, which 'in my belief rests on more than mere hypothesis'.

[26]*IA*, I. pp. 299ff; *JBBRAS*, XVI, pp. 199ff; *Collected Works*, I, p. 11. In a comprehensive paper on 'the date of Patañjali, no 1, being the first reply to Peterson, he concludes' all the passages and statements harmonise so thoroughly with my hypothesis, and taken collectively, form such a conclusive body of evidence, that I feel myself fully justified in concluding this long reply to Professor Peterson with those words of mine with which he began his attack, 'Patañjali's date, 150 BC, may now be relied on' (*Collected Works*, I, p, 185).

[27]*HSL*, p. 5. In his *Sanskrit Drama* Keith suggests 140 BC as the date of Patañjali with reasonable assurance.

[28]Kielhorn edn., vol. II, p. 119, l.5.

[29]*tataḥ Sāketam ākramya Pañcāḷa Māthurā(s) tathā*
Yavanaś ca suvikrāntaḥ prāpsyanti Kusumdhvajam

Mankad, 'A Critical Edited Text of the Yuga-Purāṇa', *UPHS*, XX, 1947, p. 32ff at pp. 54 ll. 94-95.

Mankad suggested that the finai destruction of the great Mauryan empire was the result of the joint attack of the forces of the Pañcālas, Māthuras and Yavanas (ibid., p 38). Five kings were put up in charge of the conquered capital who soon fought among themselves and lost the conquered territory (ibid., p. 40). The Yavanas disappeared from the scene of their victory after a short success. Jayaswal had suggested that the Greek king of Patañjali and Khāravela's time was Demetrius and not Menander (*JBORS*. XVI, pp. 127ff). Sten Konow agreed with Jayaswal (*AO*, I. p. 27), but Tarn proposed that at the time of the invasion, Menander was Demetrius general (*Greeks in Bactria and India*—henceforth Tarn, p. 141). At another he suggested that Menander was governor or viceroy for Demetrius for all the conquests south-eastward of the Jhelum (ibid., p. 167). This subject will be discussed at length in the chapter on 'Political History'.

[30]Act V. *yo' sau Rājasūyayajña dīkṣitena mayā rājaputrase taparivṛtam Vasumtiram goptāram ādiśya samvatsaropā vartanīyo nirgalas turago viśṛstaḥ sa Sindhor-dakṣinarodhasi caraṇṇāśvāmikena Yavanānām prārthitaḥ.*

[31]*JBORS*, X, p. 203. *dviraśvamedha vājinaḥ senāpateḥ. Puṣyamitrasya.*

[32]Kielhorn, op. cit., II, p. 123, 11. 3-4.

[33]Kielhorn omits *Candraguptasabhā* in his edition although it is restored in the second edition of his *Mahābhāṣya*, 1892, p. 177,l.10. It occurs in four of his MSS and also in the *Kāśikā*. As two instances of the compounds of the synonyms of *rājan* are given, it is natural to expect the names of two rulers (*Rājaviśeṣas*). Patañjali could only be associated with the latter one who must have been his contemporary.

[34]Kielhorn, III.I.26, p. 34; 11.2, 6-7.

[35]Ibid., V.3.99, p. 429. This passage has been interpreted by Goldstucker, Weber and Bhandarkar.

[36]The original passage runs as follows: *apaṇya ity ucyate na sidhyāti Śivaḥ Skando Viśākha iti kim kāraṇam. Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir arcaḥ prakalpitāḥ bhavet tāsu na syād. yās tu etāḥ pūjārthas tāsu bhaviṣyati.*

Paṇya, according to Bhandarkar suggests 'something that has the possibility of being sold and something that is exposed for sale'. The idols of Śiva and etc. which are under worship now possess the possibility of being sold, because idols under worship were sold by the Mauryas. But though they possess the possibility of being sold, they are not actually exposed for sale. Pāṇini's rule applies to idols of the latter description, and not of the former (*Collected Works*, I, p. 155) The passage, therefore, refers to the sale of idols under actual worship. The translation provided by Keith is clear than the one given by Bhandarkar. The difficulty is raised with regard to Pāṇini's provisio that images are not to be vendible that on this doctrine the forms Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha are incorrect. Why is that? Because the Mauryas in their greed for money used as means images of the gods (i.e., they bartered them, so that the forms should be Śivaka etc.). Final answer: 'Very well granted that the rule of dropping *ka* does not apply to those images of the Mauryas; still as regards images now used for purposes of worship it does apply'. According to Keith, the account which must be understood to make such passage intelligible is rather a strain on the readers (p. 429, quoting Geiger, *Mahābhāṣya*, *ZU*, VI.4.22 under 132 (Śiva, 1908).

[37]*JBORS*, III, pp. 844ff; IV, pp. 384ff. Jayaswal suggested that Puṣyamitra was defeated by King Khāravela, evidently after his first sacrifice. He further pointed out that Kālidāsa was referring to the second sacrifice when Puṣyamitra had a grandson young enough to lead the forces. (ibid., X, p. 203).

[38]In verses 478-84 of the *Vākyapadīya*, Kāṇḍa II, Bhartṛhari throws some light on the history of the science of grammar. It appears from these verses that the great *Samɔgraha* of Vyāḍi had ceased to be studied as grammarians began to look for abridgements. It was then that Patañjali importing all the doctrines wrote his *Mahābhāṣya*. But only good scholars could understand this work. Persons like Baiji, Saubhava and Haryakṣa relying on dry reasoning distorted the *Mahābhāṣya* the text of which became available only in the south. At that stage Candrācārya and others, eager for the true meaning of the *Bhāṣya* obtained the true tradition from Parvata and elaborated it. The guru of Bhartṛhari, Vasurāta, mastered that grammatical tradition, did his own thinking and gathered together the results in a composition and it is on that the *Vākyapadīya* is based (K A. Subramania Iyer, *Bhartṛhari*, Poona, 1969, p. 3).

[39]*Collected Works*, I, p. 185; Keith, *HSL*, p. 5.

[40]*Sitzun Berichte* (*SB*) Heidelberg, 1919, pp. 7ff; 1921, 7, pp. 57ff.

[41]*IHQ*, II. pp. 265ff.

[42]Ibid., XVI, pp. 586ff.

[43]*Yoga System*, translated in *HOS*, XVI, p. xv.

[44]*JAOS*, XXXI, pp. 25ff.

[45]Op. cit., I, p. 148.

[46]Op. cit.

[47]*JRAS*, 1932, p. 417.

[48]*HSL*, p. 490.

[49]*History of Indian Philosophy* (*HIP*), vol. I, pp. 230-31.

[50]*Punjab Sanskrit Series*. p. 27.

[51]*yogena cittasya pādena vācam malam śarīrasya tu vaidyakena yo'pākarot tam pravaram munīnām Patañjalim pranjalir ānto'smi* (*Bib. Ind*, ed., p. 3).

[52]*Sarvāṇi yogaśāstra Vaidyakāśāstra ca varttikani tataḥ*
Kritva Patañjalimuniḥ pracāryamāsa jagadidam trātum—V.25

[53]*Patañjali Mahābhāṣye Carakaprati samskritaiḥ*
mano-vāk kāyadoṣanam hantra 'hipataye namaḥ'.

Patañjali's medical work consisted of the revision (*pratisamskritaiḥ*) of the great compendium of Caraka (Ref. Jolly's book on medicine in Bühler's *Grundriss Series*, p. 25).

[54]*Calcutta Sanskrit Series*, ed. by P.C. Chakravarty, p. 32. According to this work, Patañjali did not believe in the existence of *ahamkāra* as a separate category *ucyate*: *ahamkāra parigrahartham evam tarhi naivahaṅkāro vidyata iti Patañjaliḥ mahato'smi pratyayarūpatvā bhūpāgamāt*—This is quoted in relation to the views of the author of the *Yuktidīpika* that an ancient master of the Sāmkhya, called Pavrika held that *Prakṛti* is not one, but there is an infinite personality of *Prakṛtis* each being attached to a different *puruṣa*.

[55]*EI*, XII, p. 306.

[56]I.4.5, p. 336, 1.16

[57]I.1.21, p. 78; 1.2, I.1.29; p. 29, 1.28, VII. 2.101, p. 309; 1.18.

[58]*Sarve sarvapadadeśa Dākṣīputra Pāṇini*. I.1.20, p. 75, 1.13. It might be suggested in this context thal Aśvaghoṣa, a contemporary of Kaniṣka is called *Suvarṇākṣīputra* in the colophon of his *Saundarānanda*. Goṇikā appears to be the name of Patañjali's mother as recorded by Rāmabhadra. (*tatra ka'pi dadṛśe munikanyā Goṇikā iti guṇasindhur anena* II.7).

[59]*Śālatūrīyadākṣeyo Goṇardīyaḥ Patañjali* (Bothlingk and Rieu ed., p. 157)

[60]Vātsyāyana refers to two writers: Goṇikāputra (*Kāmasūtra*, I.5; V.1; VI.48; and Goṇardīya (I.4) who wrote on the subject of treatment of a wife. According to Kielhorn, Goṇikāputra and Goṇardīya were not names of Patañjali (*IA*, XV, p. 80). R.L Mitra doubted the identification of Goṇikāputra and Goṇardīya of the *Mahābhāṣya*. He suggested that there was not a solitary instance of the use of the honorific *Goṇikāputra* as he always prefers the derivative by the use of such particle as *jñeyam*—'it should be known, or *kartavyam*—'it should be done' and not by naming himself in the third person. He also pointed out that there might have been a Goṇardīya and a Goṇikāputra before the time of Vātsyāyana and necessarily long before that of Patañjali and yet there was nothing to prevent him from bearing these aliases. The manner, however, in which these names have been cited leaves no room for the entertainment of such an opinion (*JASB*, III, 1883, pp. 330ff).

[61]*Goṇikāputra bhāṣyakāra ity āhuḥ*, op. cit.

[62]*IA*, II, 1873, p. 70; *Collected Works*.

[63]III.3.136, p. 162, 1.6. *Yo'yam adhvā gatā ā-pāṭaliputrāt tasya yad āvaram Sāketād iti*—'Of the distance or path from Pāṭaliputra which has been traversed (Such a thing was done in) that part of it which is on this side of Sāketa'. *Yo'yam adhva Pāṭaliputrād gantavyas tasya vatparam Sāketād iti*, ibid., 1.11): of the distance up to Pāṭaliputra which is to be traversed (something will be done in) that portion which lies on that side of Sāketa'.

[64]*IS*, XIII, p. 314; *IA*, II, p. 57.

[65]Op. cit.

Chapter 2

Political History

Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is an important source material for the history of Puṣyamitra's Śuṅga's time. As pointed out earlier, the Bhāṣyakāra cites instances of contemporary events in his work to illustrate his comments on certain fundamental grammatical rules. These citations convey the impression that the great commentator was not unaware of the political happenings of his time. The history of northern India of this period is, in fact, a record of the struggle between the Śuṅga and Yavana monarchs, the former attempting to integrate the loose political fabrics, and the latter anxious to take advantage of the worsening political situation. An account of the Yavanas or the Indo-Greek kings is given in the *Yugapurāṇa* section of the *Gārgī-samhitā*[1] in connection with the invasion of Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra—the Mauryan capital), and some other places in northern India within the Mauryan empire. It is, however uncertain whether the dynastic revolution in Magadha engineered by the Brahmin General Puṣyamitra Śuṅga who assumed power after a *coup d' état* preceded the Yavana invasion or it was an aftermath of the event which brought the Yavanas within the gates of Pāṭaliputra. They sacked the Mauryan metropolis but had to retreat soon because of the trouble at home.

As the Śuṅgas supplanted the Mauryas; they in return paved the way for the Kāṇvas in an equally dramatic manner through violence, after a dynastic rule of 110 years by its ten rulers. A few provincial kingdoms owing allegiance to the main Śuṅga line, lingered on as the remnants of their overlord family. The Andhras[2] also called Sātavāhanas, who were well-entrenched in the southeast part of India with their capital at Srikulam and later on at Dhānya-Kaṭaka, and finally in the first century AD at Pratiṣṭhān (Paithan) were equally interested in gaining political ascendancy in the north consequent to weaklings functioning on the political stage there. King Khāravela[3] of Kaliṅga who had planned his conquests in different directions, was not

unaware of the situation and seems to have clashed with some ruler of Pāṭaliputra, possibly in the first century AD, if not as a contemporary of the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. To lay the mosaic of the political history of this period, roughly from the last quarter of the second century BC to the beginning of the first century BC, a little over 150 years is no doubt a difficult task because of the paucity of evidence, it is nevertheless worth attempting.

Ancestry of the Śuṅgas

The origin of the Śuṅgas and the relation of its founder ruler with the last Mauryan monarch whom he killed are matters of prime investigation. The Purāṇas[4] as also the *Harṣacarita*[5] of Bāṇa record this fact. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, who was the Mauryan General of the army, assassinated his Master while the latter was invited to review his forces. The Śuṅgas were known to Pāṇini[6] who mentions the affix *aṇ* coming after this word when the sense is a descendant of the family of Bhāradvāja. He also mentions the other form *Śauṅgi*. This family name is also traced in the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa*[7] and in the *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra*,[8] and associated with ancient priestly families, thus pointing to Śuṅgas as Brahmins. The *Divyāvadāna*[9] connects the founder of this family with the last Mauryan ruler. According to this work, Sampadi, son of Kuṇāla, and grandson of Aśoka, and a son named Vṛhaspati. His grandson Puṣyadharman was father of Puṣyamitra. This removes the Śuṅga General from Aśoka by six generations which could mean at least 100-120 years. According to the Purāṇas it was less than fifty years (*c.* 232-185 BC). This part of statement from the *Divyāvadāna*, thus seems incredible. The Brahmin origin of the Śuṅgas is an accepted proposition in the light of the evidence provided by the Vedic literature noticed earlier. His *gotra*, however, is not very certain.

According to H.C. Raychaudhuri,[10] the name of the family was Baimbaka, which is accorded to Agnimitra in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*.[11] He equates the Baimbakas with the Kāśyapas and cites the reference to the Kaśyapasenāni in the *Harivaṁśa*[12] restoring the horse sacrifice as pointing to Puṣyamitra. In this context he quotes the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*[13] which distinctly includes the Baimbakayaḥ among Kāśyapas, in the list of

pravaras and *gotras*. As such, Puṣyamitra could claim to be a Kaśyapa and his identification with the restorer of the horse sacrifice alluded to in the *Harivaṁśa* might be justified. In a subsequent paper, entitled 'Observations on Certain Post-Mauryan Dynasties'[14] Raychaudhuri poses the problem that while the Purāṇas mention the Senāni Puṣyamitra as supplanting the Mauryas and call the family, the Śuṅgas, the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva does not style Puṣyamitra as a Śuṅga. Further, the records referring to the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas from Bhārhut[15] have no reference to Puṣyamitra, nor to his son or grandson. It is further proposed that the reign of the Sugas (Śuṅgas), recorded in the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhūti, is to be classed with the epigraphs of Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra and assigned to the earlier part of the first century BC, and not to the age of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra in the second century BC.[16] It is as well pointed out that the dynastic designation Śuṅga is applied to Puṣyamitra and his progeny only in the Purāṇas. In the *Harṣacaritam* of Bāṇa, the name Śuṅga is accorded not to the Commander who overthrew Bṛhadratha Maurya, but to the ruler Devabhūti who was killed by the emissaries of Vāsudeva (Kāṇvāyana). The dynastic connection of this prince rests entirely on Purāṇic evidence and is not confirmed from any other source. Raychaudhuri, therefore, does not exclude the possibility of the Purāṇas including under the name Śuṅga, two distinct groups of rulers, viz., the line of Puṣyamitra which is styled Baimbika by Kālidāsa, and the real Śuṅgas who succeeded this line and are referred to by Bāṇa and the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhūti.

H.A. Shah tried to connect Baimbika with Bindusāra,[17] father of Aśoka of the Mauryan dynasty, but this conjecture seems impossible despite the traditional account in the *Divyāvadāna*. The Śuṅgas are associated by H.P. Śāstrī[18] in his paper with those turbulent military spirits who had been driven away from Persia by the Greek conquest of that country. He contends that the second half of the name ending in *mitra* common to most of the members of the family suggest its Persian origin. Both the suggestions are ruled out by the available data. The word Baimbika is translated as 'a gallant lover' and there is nothing to show that it was a proper name. The question of its identity with Bindusāra or with the Baimbikaya of the Kaśyapa

gotra does not arise. In fact, Patañjali also refers[19] to *Baimbakiḥ* (IV.I.96, p. 253), but it is nowhere associated with Patañjali who is quoted several times by the Bhāṣyakāra. The relation of Dhanadeva of the Ayodhyā inscription, who is described as a descendant of the Senāpati (*Senāpateḥ Puṣyamitrasya Saṣṭhena*), equally eliminates any possibility of two families—the earlier one of Puṣyamitra and his successors—Agnimitra, Vasumitra etc. and that of Dhanadeva—Dhanabhūti of the Ayodhyā and Bhārhut inscriptions respectively. There is a general agreement regarding the Brahmanical ancestry of the Śuṅgas, despite the doubt created by the *Divyāvadāna* tradition. A solitary scholar argued though unconvincingly that the Śuṅgas were Kṣatriyas. A late record[20] mentions Śuṅga—Bhāradvāja *gotra* and this equally denies the association of the Śuṅgas with the Kaśyapa *gotra* as proposed by Raychaudhuri.

Dynastic History

The list of Śuṅga rulers furnished by the Purāṇas is more or less uniform. Some variations about the length of reigns could, however, be adjusted. Pargiter considering the variant readings in the Purāṇas, presents the following table:

1. Puṣyamitra[21]	the commander-in-chief and the uprooter of Bṛhadratha	36 years
2. Agnimitra[22]		8 years
3. Vasujyeṣṭha[23]		7 years
4. Vasumitra[24]	the commander of the forces defeating the Yavanas	10 years
5. Andhraka[25]		2 years
6. Pulinda[26]		3 years
7. Ghoṣa[27]		3 years
8. Vajramitra[28]		9 years
9. Bhāgavata[29]		32 years
10. Devabhūmi[30]		10 years
	Total	120 years

These ten rulers are accorded a total reign of 112 years (*Śatam pūrṇam daśa dve ca*), though some manuscripts of the *Bhāgavata* and one of *Viṣṇu* mention the total duration as 110 years only. The difference of eight to ten years might be partly

due to counting the fraction in individual reign as one full year. The Paurāṇic evidence may, therefore, be accepted with an assignment of 112 years to ten rulers constituting this dynasty.[31] The variant readings in the Purāṇas are equally interesting. Thus, one finds the absence of Puṣyamitra's name in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, that of Agnimitra in *Matsya*, Sujyeṣṭha in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Viṣṇu*, Andhraka spelt as Antaka in the *Matsya*, and Bhadraka and Ardraka in the *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu* Purāṇas respectively. The seventh ruler is called by different names, Yomegha, Yomekha or Momekha. His name is missing in the *Matsyapurāṇa*. The last Śuṅga rulers—Vajramitra (Vikramāmitra according to the *Bhāgavata*) and Devabhūmi (Kṣemabhūmi according to the *Vāyu*) do not pose any problem. Some scholars no doubt identify some of the late Śuṅga rulers with those of the Pabosa records or with the Mitra kings of the Pañcāla group. This contention, however, demands proper scrutiny later on in this chapter.

Puṣyamitra

The Brahmin Senānī, who slew his master, the last Mauryan emperor Bṛhadratha, and reigned in his stead, accomplished his objective through a military *coup d'etat*. According, to Bāṇa, the Mauryan ruler, intellectually blank (*prāṇiñādurlabham*)[32] was bereft of his life, while reviewing his army at the hands of his commander-in-chief. This event happened when the previous dynasty had ruled for a period of 137 years (*sapta-triṃśa-cāśaṭam pūrṇam*). Placing Candragupta Maurya's accession[33] in *c* 322 BC, the date of Puṣyamitra's assumption of sovereignty might be fixed in *c*. 185-84 BC. The circumstances accounting for this *coup* might have been external aggression and the inability of the ruler to face this challenge consequent to his cowardly attitude. The reference to the Yavanas forces[34] advancing as far as Pāṭaliputra, besieging it, as recorded by Patañjali and also in the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgīsaṁhitā* might have been an event connected with the last days of Bṛhadratha's reign. It was not an event of remote past, but one which could have been witnessed by the Bhāṣyakāra. The Yavanas subsequently retreated, and the unstable political condition at Pāṭaliputra was the most appropriate time for the Mauryan Commander of the forces to assume power after disposing of his

master, without the army or the people raising their finger. Political disintegration and disunion smoothly paved the way for an external aggression, its temporary setback and the final replacement of the ruling dynasty. This prepared the ground for the integration of the loose political fabrics

The Greek conquest or rather the invasion is recorded in Indian as well as Classical Greek sources. Patañjali notices the Yavanas besieging Sāketa (*aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam*) and Mādhyamikā (*aruṇad Yavano Mādhyamikām*)[35] (III.2.III, p. 119). The *Yugapurāṇa* further traces the course of the Yavaña's invasion reaching Pāṭaliputra, after occupying Sāketa, Pañcāla and the city of Mathurā, seizing Kusumadhvaja.[36] Further, they did not stay there for long. Fierce and terrible civil war among their own people, eventually destructive, was the cause of their retreat (*Madhyadeśe'pi Yavana na tu sthāsyanti drumadaḥ teṣām—anyo'anya yuddhāni paramadāruṇam*).[37] The name of the Yavana ruler proceeding as far as Pāṭaliputra, and the duration of stay at Pāṭaliputra are no doubt matters worth considering even at the cost of speculation to a certain extent. According to Tarn,[38] the Greek sources taken together, ascribe the conquest of northern India to three men: Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander. He suggests that there were two lines of advance, one was of Menander, and the other was shared by Demetrius and Apollodotus. Demetrius conquered Sind[39] while Menander proceeded in the south-easterly direction, as is evident from the Greek and Indian sources. Apollodotus, as quoted by Strabo,[40] mentions that the Greeks conquered more of India than the Macedonians (Alexander) had done, and they became masters of the Indians; they overthrew more peoples than Alexander had done, most of all Menander, some himself and some Demetrius. Strabo further records that those who came after Alexander advanced beyond the Hypanis to the Ganges and Palibothra.[41] Thus, both the Greek and the Indian sources record the advance of the Greek (Yavana) forces as far as Pāṭaliputra, but the absence of coins of Demetrius beyond the Indus[42] might imply that the Greek advance was hardly a conquest in the ordinary sense of the word. Some scholars even propose that the Greek kings were condottiere and their conquests raids.

Now the main question for consideration relates to the iden-

tity of the Greek ruler or his Commander who besieged Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and Mādhyamikā (Chittor) as mentioned by Patañjali. If the evidence from the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgīsamhitā* be accepted, then the Yavana invasion covered Kusumadhvaja or Pāṭaliputra as well. The Bhāṣyakāra does not mention the after-effect of the invasion, but the other source records the Yavanas retreating with the same lightening speed as adopted in their offensive operation. This was due to the trouble at home. It seems difficult to synchronise the Yavana invasions in two directions—towards the east as far as Pāṭaliputra, and towards the south-west resulting in besieging Chittor. A retreating army and that too anxious to return home quickly would not find time nor be in a mood to take offensive in any other direction. It may therefore be proposed that the advancement of the Greek forces was in two directions and undertaken under the command of two different persons.

The credit for the successful Greek advance may be attributed to Demetrius rather than to Menander for several reasons. Menander had his capital at Sākala (Sialkot) and there was no immediate danger to his kingdom, demanding urgent retreat. Demetrius, on the other hand, had his capital at Euthydemia, which was founded by his father Euthydemos. This place is identified by Tarn[43] with Sirkap (Taxilā). When the trouble from the side of Eucratides blew up, Demetrius was compelled to retreat and he returned back home to contain disruptionist forces.[44] Thus, the political condition in Bactria—the cause of retreat—favours Demetrius's claim. The references to the siege of Indian cities, as recorded by Patañjali and in the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgīsaṃhitā* and the advance of Greek forces in the classical sources, fit in more with the personality of Demetrius than that of Menander. In this context, Justin refers[45] to the clash between Eucratides and Demetrius. In his words, 'Eucratides however carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrius, king of the Indians, with a garrison of only three hundred soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of sixty thousand enemies'.

On the basis of the available evidence, it may be proposed that the invasion noticed by Patañjali, resulting in the siege of Sāketa and Mādhyamikā, and that of Pāṭaliputra according to

the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgisaṃhitā* was undertaken by Demetrius. This invasion did not result in any permanent conquest, the invaders retreated with an equally swift speed. This event seems to have happened during the last days of the Mauryan rule under Bṛhadratha. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, the Commader-in-chief, availed of this opportunity, slew his master and reigned in his stead. He did not assume the title of the Emperor, and was both the *de facto* and the *de jure* ruler. This Śuṅga ruler performed the first horse sacrifice which had been in abeyance for long. According to the Ayodhyā inscription,[46] Puṣyamitra is credited with the performance of two horse sacrifices (*Kośalādhipena dviraśvamedha-yājinaḥ senāpateḥ Puṣyamitrasa*). Patañjali also mentions sacrifices being performed for Puṣyamitra (*iha Puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ*).[47] There could not be a more befitting occasion for the performance of this sacrifice than the retreat of the Yavanas and the Senāpati's assumption of power in Magadha. The second sacrifice appears to be the one referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa which symbolised his victory over the Greek forces at a later date since this achievement was that of Puṣyamitra's grandson—Vasumitra.

The Vidarbha Affair

The Vidarbha situation involving two contenders and the Śuṅga viceroy Agnimitra at Vidiśā, seems to be connected with the Magadhan court politics. While Puṣyamitra successfully brought about a *coup d'etat*, and assumed power, there were still some internal forces which had to be contained. A minister of the late Mauryan king Bṛhadratha, probably trying to foment some trouble, was imprisoned. He was related to Yajñasena of Vidarbha—being his brother-in-law, as recorded by Kālidāsa in his drama *Mālavikāgnimitram*.[48] Yajñasena was a usurper who had put Mādhavasena, the rightful claimant in prison. This incident happened when the latter was crossing the frontier of Vidarbha along with his younger sister Mālavikā who had been betrothed to Agnimitra, son of Puṣyamitra and his viceroy at Vidiśā. Yajñasena's action naturally involved Agnimitra's intrusion into Vidarbha's internal regal politics. He called upon Yajñasena to release Mādhavasena, only to be told by the latter to remain neutral in this domestic matter. He,

however, offered to set Mādhavasena free in return for the freedom of his brother-in-law from Puṣyamitra's captivity.[49] The imposition of this condition was taken as an affront by Agnimitra who waged a war against Yajñasena. The Śuṅga army proceeded as far as Vardā (modern Warda) and Yajñasena submitted. The restoration of peace followed the division of the Vidarbha kingdom[50] between the two claimants, probably under the influence or the domination of the Śuṅgas, which extended to the south of the Narmada.[51]

Confrontation with the Yavanas and the Second Horse Sacrifice

The Ayodhyā inscrip ion of Dhanadeva and the evidence from the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa point to the performance of horse sacrifice by the Śuṅga monarch. This followed the victory over the Yavana forces at the bank of the Sindhu, as recorded in that dra ma. According to the Ayodhyā inscription, this should be the second sacrifice. Patañjali in his comment on Pāṇini (III.2.123) while quoting the Vārttika of Kātyāyana which enjoins the use of *laṭ* to denote an action or undertaking which has begun but not finished, quotes as an example: 'here we dwell (*iha vasāmaḥ*), here we perform the sacrifice instituted by Puṣyamitra (*iha Puṣyamitram Yājayāmaḥ*). It is, however, not clear if the Bhāṣyakāra is referring to the first or the second horse sacrifice in his comment. Kālidāsa's reference to the performance of horse sacrifice is in a particular context, namely the victory over the Yavana forces. This event happened in the last year of Puṣyamitra's reign, as is fairly evident from the fact that the feat was accomplished by his grandson, Puṣyamitra in his letter to his son Agnimitra, pleads for the removal of distrust and misunderstanding, if any, in the mind of his son, and asks him to join the festivities along with his two queens. This must be the second clash with the Yavanas or the Indo-Greeks, and the ruler on the other side heading the forces was Menander. In this context Apollodotus[52] refers to two such invasions. Since Menander's coins have been found as far as Yamunā,[53] and he is better known in Indian history than Demetrius, it is quite likely that with his capital at Sāgala he might have tried his strength against the Śuṅga ruler. It is therefore proposed that the Yavana forces opposing the Śuṅga ones led by Vasumitra, were actually those of Menander who might have been in actual command of these.

Both the identification of Sindhu as also the invasion of Menander and his clash with the Śuṅga forces have been matters of disputation among scholars.[54] Tarn's theory about Menander's conquest of mid-India is questioned by A.K. Narain.[55] He doubts whether Menander made any conquest to the east beyond the Jhelum. There was only one invasion of the Greeks, of the nature of a raid in the course of which they might have reached Pāṭaliputra but there was no conquest.

As regards the sacrifice mentioned by Kālidāsa in his drama, as proposed earlier, it appears to be the second one. The occasion for this historical event was the victory over the Yavana forces. Jayaswal, however, proposed[56] that Puṣyamitra performed the second horse sacrifice to vindicate his position after he had suffered humiliation at the hands of Khāravela. According to Raychaudhuri,[57] the two horse sacrifices were performed after the victorious wars with Vidarbha and the Yavanas. D.R. Bhandarkar, however, contended[58] that the first Aśvamedha sacrifice coincided with the besiege of Sāketa and Mādhyamikā, and the same invasion seems to be adverted to in the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gargisamhitā*. As regards the second Greek invasion, he pointed out that the western-most part of the Āryāvarta was seized upon and annexed to the Greek kingdom of Menander when things had settled down. Puṣyamitra, despite the loss of a small territory, celebrated, according to Bhandarkar, the *Aśvamedha Yajña* which appears to be the same as referred to by Kālidāsa. It was suggested by Majumdar[59] that the performance of horse sacrifice was to establish his claim to the Magadhan thrown both as a *de facto* and a *de jure* ruler.

The Supposed Invasion of Khāravela

The Hāthīgumphā inscription has baffled the historians for quite a long time. It is supposed to furnish some information on the retreat of the Yavanas, but on the question of the defeat of the Magadhan ruler it is more specific. Some scholars have tried to work out the relations between Puṣyamitra and the ruler of Kaliṅga on the basis of the data provided by this record. The passage—*panamtarīya sathi vasa sare rāja Muriya kāle vocchine*—was construed by Bhagwānlal Indraji[60] to mean the

eighth year in which Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga and when this era was possibly founded, namely in the year 255 BC. Calculating from this date the year 165 of this Mauryan era would therefore correspond to 90 BC when Khāravela carried out certain works in the Udaigiri caves. This was done in the thirteenth year of Khāravela's reign and accordingly Khāravela's accession is placed in 103 BC. Bühler,[61] no doubt, accepted Indraji's views regarding the thirteenth year of this Kaliṅga ruler corresponding to the 165th year of the Mauryan era. He, however, suggested that the initial year of this era should be taken from the date of the coronation of Candragupta Maurya, and not from the time of Aśoka's conquest of Kaliṅga. As such he placed Khāravela's accession between 170 and 160 BC.

According to Fleet[62], the passage nowhere records any date, and the word *panamtariya* could not mean 'sixty-five'. It represents the Sanskrit *prajñāptarya*, and *vocchine* or *vucchinme* could not correspond to Sanskrit *vicchinna*, but is the well-known Jain technical term *vocchinna—vyavacchinnāni* applied to sacred texts which have been cut off, interrupted or neglected. The use of this term prohibits the reference to any date in the record. This contention of Fleet was endorsed by Lüders[63] and Charpentier,[64] but Banerji and Jayaswal[65] supported Bhagwānlāl Indraji with differences in the text reading. They were supported by Smith,[66] Dubrevil[67] and Aiyar,[68] but opposed by Majumdar[69] and R.P. Chanda[70] on the ground that Khāravela, being a Ceta could not naturally use the Mauryan era, also supported by Sten Konow.[71] Palaeographic considerations also point to the first half of the first century BC as the date of Khāravela. This later date is equally supported by the sculptural piece of evidence, as pointed out by Marshall.[72]

The other passage supposed to provide some clue to Khāravela's date reads as—*Paṁcame ca dāni Nandarāja-ti-vasayata oghāttitam Tamasuliya vatā panādim nagaram pavesayati* (1.6). The expression *ti-vasa-sata* could mean 103 years or 300 years after Nandarāja, King Nanda. According to Lüders[73] and Sten Konow[74]. the term *ti-vasa-sata* means 103 years and not 300 years, as supposed by Jayaswal,[75] who placed Khāravela and also Puṣyamitra three centuries after Nandarāja whom he identified with Nandavardhana. Subsequently in his paper on the subject contributed to the *Epigraphia Indica*[76] in collaboration

with R.D. Banerji, he accepts the correct meaning of the term as 103 years. Raychaudhuri first objected[77] to the identification of Nandarāja of this record with Nandavardhana who was a Suisunaga king and had done nothing in Kaliṅga. As such this Nandarāja, according to the late Carmichael Professor, should be identified with Mahāpadma or one of his sons as the conqueror of Kaliṅga. Taking *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 300 years, it becomes easier to synchronise the rise of Khāravela with the fall of the Śuṅga dynasty and the consequent weakening of the Magadhan power.

Barua objected[78] to the identification of Nandarāja with the Mahāpadma or one of his sons in view of the conclusive statement from the Aśokan Rock Edict III which credits the Mauryan ruler Aśoka as the first amongst the Indian kings after the death of the Buddha to conquer the unconquered land of Kaliṅga (*avijitam vijinitum*). He proposed two alternatives: either identify Nandarāja with Aśoka and assign Khāravela's accession to the second quarter of the first century AD by interpreting *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 300 years, or identify him with Śiśunandī or Yaśonandī who snatched away Vidiśā from the Śuṅga dominions at the fall of the Śuṅga power and assign Khāravela's accession in the second quarter of the first century AD interpreting *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 103 years.

Neither the identification of the ruler, nor the interpretation of the expression mentioned earlier, either from the time of Mahāpadma Nanda or from the accession of Candragupta as 300 or 103 years after the event, make the Kaliṅga ruler the contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. The identification of Bahasatimitra—Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra rests on the flimsiest ground of Bṛhaspati being the regent of the *Nakṣatra* or zodiacal asterism *Puṣyā*, also called *Tiṣyā* in the constellation cancer or the crab. Further, the palaeography of the Hāthīgumphā record points to its late character. A number of letters with thick-headed vertical or serif *ka* with the lower part of the vertical prolonged invariable round *ga*; *cha* of the butterfly type with two loops, and *ta* having in most cases round lower part, help us in determining the appropriate age of this record. According to R.P. Chanda,[79] the Hāthīgumphā inscription is later in date not only than Aśokan edicts and the Besnagar

Garuḍa pillar inscriptions, but is posterior to the Bhārhut Toraṇa inscription and the Nānāghāṭ inscription of the Andhra king Siri Sātakarṇi I.

The numismatic evidence equally rules out any possibility of identifying Basahatimitra with Puṣyamitra. The latter did not issue any coins, and in fact there are no Mitra coins of any family bearing his name. A few coins with the legend Bahasatimitra have no doubt been found. These are connected, according to Allan,[80] with the coins of Agnimitra (Agimita) and Jyeṣṭamitra (Jethamitra) of Kauśāmbī who does not figure in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela as presumed by Jayaswal. It is further proposed that the only certain reading is *bahu* and it might not be suggestive of a proper noun. The other contested readings are *māgadhāni ca rājānam*. It is equally ridiculous to equate *Puṣya* with Bṛhaspati.

The Extent of Puṣyamitra's Empire

The extent of the Śuṅga empire in the time of Puṣyamitra is rather uncertain. He had no doubt performed the horse sacrifices, symbolising his paramountcy over the region known as Āryāvarta or even beyond that. In the absence of finds of his coins, one could only visualise the limits or extent of the Śuṅga empire on the basis of the Ayodhyā inscription as also the information supplied by the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa. It is proposed[81] that besides Ayodhyā and Vidiśā in the west and south-west of the Śuṅga capital at Pāṭaliputra soon after the defeat of Menander's forces, the Śuṅga commander launched a vigorous attack and pushed on to the banks of the Rāvī. According to the text of the *Yugapurāṇa* as amended by Dhruva,[82] Puṣyamitra is said to have waged a war against the Greek ruler of Śākala and died fighting. It was suggested by Rapson[83] that Śākala was wrested by Menander perhaps during Puṣyamitra's life time. The *Divyāvadāna*[84] refers to the Brahmin Śuṅga ruler marching out with a fourfold army, destroying stupas, burning monasteries and killing monks, as far as Śākala where he announced a reward of one hundred dinars for killing one Buddhist monk. This story seems unwarranted and incredible in the light of Buddhist monastic and artistic activities in the Śuṅga period. It may, however, be proposed that the Śuṅga empire extended up to East Punjab, abutting on the domain of

his Indo-Greek contemporary. In the south-west it reached as far as Berar though the actual extent might not have been beyond Vidiśā. In the south-east it included Aṅga and probably some part of Vaṅga and abutted on Kaliṅga. This could only be conjectured for want of proper evidence.

Puṣyamitra's Successors

The founder of the Śuṅga dynasty Puṣyamitra, according to the Purāṇas, ruled for a period of 36 years. The *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas, however, assign him a rule of 60 years—which, according to Majumdar,[85] includes his earlier assignment as Mauryan viceroy at Vidiśā. Sten Konow,[86] however, proposed that the length of Puṣyamitra's reign of 36 years included his rule in Malwa for 30 years and in Magadha for 6 years. It is now generally accepted that his reign ended in 148 BC and he was succeeded by Agnimitra. The *Matsya* and *Vāyu* Purāṇas, however, suggest Vasujyeṣṭha as his successor. The two lines from these Purāṇas furnish some interesting information according to Jayaswal.[87] He suggested that Puṣyamitra had divided his empire into two sub-kingdoms, as he interpreted the phrase *kārayiṣati vai rājyam* and the two sons ruled jointly (*Puṣyamitra-sutas-cāṣṭau bhaviṣyanti samā nṛpaḥ*).[88] He further proposed that Vasujyeṣṭha alias Sujyeṣṭha was the eldest. The absence of Agnimitra's name in the list is conspicuous. It may, however, be conjectured that Puṣyamitra had two sons—Vasujyeṣṭha and Agnimitra. The former stayed at Pāṭaliputra as the heir-apparent while the latter was posted as the Śuṅga Viceroy at Vidiśā. The fraternal jealousy, so common among the princes, might have been the cause of Agnimitra's anger (*roṣa*) or misunderstanding as later on recorded by Kālidāsa. The poet notices this point in Puṣyamitra's letter to his son Agnimitra. The appointment of Vasumitra as the 'Commander of the forces' might have been an attempt on the part of the aged father to contain his son's anger.

It appears probable that after Puṣyamitra's death, his sons Vasujyeṣṭha and Agnimitra ruled concurrently, if not conjointly: the former at the royal capital Pāṭaliputra and the latter at Vidiśā. According to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Vasumitra was the son of Sujyeṣṭha which might be another name of Vasujyeṣṭha. This fact is now corroborated by the *Vāyupurāṇa*.[89]

This relationship, however, belies the one proposed by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitram*. It is, however, possible to solve this problem by identifying Agnimitra with Sujyeṣṭha—Vasujyeṣṭa[90] disturbing the genealogical table, or accepting the reading of the *Matsyapurāṇa*, and distinguish the two. It may, however, be suggested that the two brothers—Vasujyeṣṭha-Sujyeṣṭha and Agnimitra were ruling at two different places at the same time. Vasujyeṣṭha probably died issueless and so Vasumitra who was closely associated with the royal forces took over the reins of power at Pāṭaliputra and legalised his claim by associating himself, may be as an adopted son of his uncle. His claim to his real father's Agnimitra's kingdom was not disturbed, and he united both the kingdom under a single Śuṅga realm. There is, however, no indication of any joint rule as suggested by Jayaswal who had proposed that *Suganam raje* of the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhūti is suggestive of the rule of the Śuṅgas, as is evident from the use of the genitive plural. In the absence of any evidence to support this contention, the expression might be taken as pointing to the empire or the kingdom of the Śuṅgas. Further, there is no ground for associating Dhanabhūti and his record at Bhārhut with Puṣyamitra and his descendants.

Nothing is known about Vasujyeṣṭha but some scholars proposed identification of Agnimitra with his name sake whose coins bearing the legend 'Agnimitrasa' in Brāhmī characters of the second century BC have been found at various places in Pañcāla.[91] Numismatics, however, have been reluctant[92] to attribute these local coins to Agnimitra, the Śuṅga ruler. It would be equally difficult to associate any other Śuṅga ruler of the Paurāṇic list with any local ruler of Pañcāla or Kauśāmbī for name-sake. It was suggested by Raychaudhuri[93] that several names could not be identified, but they might have been names of those Śuṅgas who survived the usurpation of Vāsudeva Kāṇva, and the remnant of whose power destroyed by the Andhrabhṛtyas and Śiśunandī. The title 'Rājan' accorded to Agnimitra of the coins might be an honorific one, or by way of courtesy. On the other hand, it is quite likely that Agnimitra was more or less an independent ruler, with nominal allegiance to his father. His arrogance and conceit in dealing with the Vidarbha problem without any reference to the Central

authority at Pāṭaliputra, and the subsequent release of the Mauryan *saciva* or minister might be suggestive of the power and position of Agnimitra in the time of his father.

Vasumitra described[94] as the son of Agnimitra comes fourth in the Paurāṇic list. He is well-known as the hero of the conquest associated with the second horse sacrifice performed by his grandfather. His career is shrouded in mystery except for the reference to the defeat of the Yavanas at his hands. This happened on the banks of the Sindhu in the time of his grandfather. He ruled for a period of ten years and was succeeded by Antaka or Bhadraka, according to the *Matsya* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas respectively. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* calls him Andhraka or Odruka. Jayaswal identified[95] this Śuṅga ruler with Udāka of the Pabhosa record, a suggestion endorsed by Rapson[96] which does not appear to be plausible. On the contrary it is proposed[97] that Andhraka, Pulindaka and Ghoṣa do not appear to be of the Śuṅga line, and had crept in the Paurāṇic texts probably because of some confusion. If their total period of rule covering eight years is excluded, then the total length of the Śuṅga dynasty comes to 112 years which would fit in well with the period of allocation to the Śuṅgas (*Śatam dasa dve ca*). The first two—Andhraka and Pulindaka—might have been associated with the unrecorded raid over Pāṭaliputra and its temporary occupation, while Ghoṣa seemed to be from Pañcāla and as such unconnected with the Śuṅgas. All the three probably took advantage of the weakening political situation and the turmoil following the murder of Sumitra identified with Vasumitra. According to Bāṇa, Sumitra was killed in the course of a theatrical performance by one Mitradeva, who might have been a scion of the Brāhmaṇa ministerial family which later supplanted the Śuṅgas.

Vajramitra, the next ruler after the previous three who are considered by some to be intruders, had an unimpressive and uneventful reign of nine years. He was succeeded by Bhāgavata. Two inscriptions are supposed to be associated with him. The first one dated in the twelfth year and recording his name Bhāgavata[98], inscribed on a fragment of a stone pillar, mentions the setting up of a flag staff in honour of the god Viṣṇu by one Gautamīputra. The second one from Besnagar[99] about three kilometres from Bhilsa (Vidiśa) is dated in the fourteenth

year of king Bhāgavadra. In this year a column was erected by Heliodorus, son of Dion, the Yavana ambassador, who had come to the Court of Vidiśā from Antialcidas, king of Takṣaśilā (Taxila). There is agreement amongst scholars that the two records belong to the period of the same ruler, and in spite of the slight variation in the form of the two names, Bhāgabhadra of the Besnagar record is identical with Bhāgavata Śuṅga. This identification helps in bringing the histories of the Śuṅgas and the Yavanas into close proximity and relationship with each other, as also in determining within limits of possible error, a fixed point in their chronology. According to Rapson,[100] 'if the duration of reigns as given in the Purāṇas, confused though it is by textual corruption, be approximately correct, the fourteenth year of king Bhāgabhadra (within a few years of 90 BC whether earlier or later) may well have fallen within the reign of Antialcidas, if, as seems, not unlikely, he was the successor of Heliocles and came to the throne *c.* 120 BC.' Bhāgavata—identified with the name-sake and Bhāgavadra of the two Vidiśā records, was succeeded after a long reign of 32 years, by Devabhūti or Devabhūmi.

Bāṇa places this last Śuṅga ruler in the category of those monarchs who lost their lives at the hands of assassins.[101] The court poet of Harṣa records the weakness of this person for women. He lost his life at the hands of the daughter of his female attendant disguised as a queen. The person instrumental in his murder was his own minister Vāsudeva who followed in his master's stead and founded a new dynasty of the Kāṇvas. The Purāṇas record the overthrow of the last Śuṅga monarch Devabhūti, described as dissolute, at the hands of his Brahmin minister Vāsudeva.[102] A rule of 10 years is assigned to the last Śuṅga ruler which ended in *c.* 72 BC and with him ended the dynasty founded by Puṣyamitra. The Śuṅgas, however, continued to linger on as suggested in the Purāṇas. It is stated that Vāsudeva would rule with (literally among) the Śuṅgas and that the Andhras will destroy the Kāṇvas and whatever is left of the Śuṅga power. It is presumed that this statement is suggestive of the continuance of the Śuṅga rule in Vidiśā until that region passed into the hands of the Andhras.

Thus, ended the Brahmin Śuṅga dynasty after a rule of 112 years sometime in 73-72 BC. The end was as sudden as that of

the dynasty which preceded it; and in more or less in a similar fashion. The Brahmin mind worked and succeeded in arranging the *coup d'etat* in both the instances and it was the main officials—the Commander-in-chief in one case and the minister in the other who gave the *coup de grace* to their master. The details are recorded by a Brahmin court poet centuries later, but it does not warrant any doubt about its veracity.

Śuṅga Feudatories

Some of the feudatories of the Śuṅgas are known from their records and coins. The solitary monument recording the name of this dynasty is the famous Buddhist stupa at Bhārhut (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta). Here two gateways (*toraṇas*) are dated 'in the sovereignty of the Śuṅga,' (*Suganam rāje*). One of these[103] was erected by Dhanabhūti—Vacchīpūta (i.e. son of a princess of Vatsa (Kauśāmbī) and the other[104] by some member of the same family. The name Dhanabhūti occurs also in an inscription at Mathurā,[105] and his name is as well traced in another inscription from Bhārhut[106] recording the gift of Nāgarakhitā (Nāgarakṣitā) the wife of the king (*rājan*) (Dhanabhūti (?). On the basis of these sources, Rapson has reconstructed[107] the family tree of this king from his grandfather, king Vāsudeva, followed by father, prince Vadhapāla, and concluded that this family ruled at Bhārhut, and it was connected in some way with the royal family at Mathurā. As none of the four names is found in the list of Śuṅgas given by the Purāṇas, Rapson considered[108] it most probable that the kings of this line were feudatories, though they may have been related to the imperial house by family ties. It may, however, be necessary to record the history of the dynasties of the Gangetic Plain and trace their relations with the Śuṅga-Kāṇva rulers at Pāṭaliputra.

The Kāṇvāyanas

The Kāṇvas, also known as Śuṅgabhṛtyas are mentioned in the Purāṇas[109] as the successors of the Śuṅgas. The minister Vāsudeva forcibly overthrew the dissolute Devabhūti and became the king among the Śuṅgas (*Śuṅgeṣubhavita nṛpaḥ*). Like their predecessors, the Kāṇvas or the Kāṇvāyana were also Brahmins and figure amongst ancient priestly families of Vedic times.[110]

This dynasty consisted of four rulers. The first ruler Vāsudeva who usurped his master's throne ruled for nine years from 72 to 63 BC. He was succeeded by his son Bhūmimitra, who is assigned fourteen years for his rule. The other two Nārāyaṇa and Suśarman, according to the Purāṇas, ruled for 12 and 10 years respectively. The total period assigned to these four rulers—remembered as Śuṅgabhṛtya Kāṇvāyana king, is 49 years. It is further mentioned that they would have the neighbouring kings in subjection and rule righteously (*ete praṇata sāmanta bhaviṣyā dhārmikāścaye*). The extent of the Kāṇva kingdom appears to be restricted, probably confined to Magadha alone, although the Purāṇas speak of them as 'enjoying the allegiance of the feudatories'.[111] This might have been done in a conventional complimentary manner.

Some scholars have tried to link the Kāṇva rulers for namesake with the rulers of Pañcāla and other places whose coins have been found. Thus, Bhūmimitra, the son of Vāsudeva, is identified with Bhūmimitra whose coins have been found at several places in Pañcāla,[112] Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇumitra[113] and Suśarman with the founder of the Parivrājaka dynasty, which is considered as fantastic.[114] The chronological gap between the two is too wide to warrant any consideration. The suggested identities are the least plausible.

No definite information is available about the location of the capital city or the metropolitan province of the Kāṇvāyanas. In speaking of their territory, the Bhaviṣyānukīrtana section of the Purāṇas dealing with 'future' kings uses vague terms like Mahī, Vasudharā and Bhūmī. The founder of the line is said to have become king among the Śuṅgas (*Śuṅgeṣu bhavitā nṛpa*), as the Śuṅga line *in extremis* is associated with the Vaideśa country—the region round Vidiśā or Besnagar. Raychaudhuri has suggested[115] that 'there is no reason to doubt that the Kāṇvāyana Mayor of the Palace, who ousted the Śuṅga *roi faineant* ruled in the same region'. It is as well proposed by the late Carmichael Professor that 'the later Kāṇvas succeeded in extending their frontier to the Godāvarī and even further to the south'. This suggestion is untenable. The Purāṇas never mention a single Kāṇva king among the rulers of Vidiśā, not to speak of any territory to the south of the Narmadā. It would, therefore, be convenient to confine the Kāṇvāyanas to Magadha

alone and record the history of the families that emerged out of the dismemberment of the Śuṅga empire in the Gangetic Plain.

Dynasties of the Gangetic Plain

With the decline of the Śuṅga power, disintegrating forces seem to have gained momentum, resulting in the emergence of independent kingdoms, or the assumption of independence by those owing allegiance to the Śuṅga rulers at Pāṭaliputra. Coins reveal a uniform set of rulers at Kośala, Pañcāla, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. These coins on palaeographic grounds appear to be of the period from the first century BC to first century AD and bear the names of rulers. These are punch-marked, with their symbols varying from one region to another, and suggest their independent political existence. If these coins had been issued by the Śuṅgas or their feudatories, naturally one would have traced some similarity. It may, therefore, be presumed that these kingdoms and their rulers had nothing in common with each other or with any central authority and they were independent. Their history, however, centres round a few personalities. These may therefore be considered here separately.

Kośala

The Ayodhyā inscription[116] of Dhanadeva traces the relation of the local ruler with Puṣyamitra (*Senāpateḥ Puṣyamitrasya Ṣaṣṭena*) which has been contrued to mean sixth in descent from Puṣyamitra. The inscription records the building of a sepulchral monument in honour of the king's father Phalgūdeva. It has been suggested on the basis of the evidence from the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa[117] that Mūladeva (Mitredeva) murdered the Śuṅga monarch Sumitra (Vasumitra), and since his coins have been found at Ayodhyā, he seems to have declared himself independent of the Śuṅgas. The coins of Mūladeva along with those of his successors form a uniform set with a bull or elephant on the obverse and five or six characteristic symbols[118] on the reverse. Besides Mūladeva, others whose coins have been found include Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva and Dhanadeva. This last ruler is identified[119] with Kauśikīputra Dhana (rest of the name is lost) of the Ayodhyā inscription. He seems to be connected with the Kauśikīputra king Indrāgnimitra of the Bodh Gayā inscription[120] as an elder or a younger brother. The inscription

does not speak of his rule, but simply records the donation of his queen who appears to have gone on a pilgrimage to the sacred shrine at Bodh Gayā. There is no trace of any coinage attributed to Mūladeva's father Phalgūdeva, though it is tempting to identify him with Phagunimitra of Pañcāla who did issue coins. Numismatics are, however, opposed to such a suggestion, because the coins of Phagunimitra belong to a purely local series of the Pañcāla dynasty. As four generations intervened between Puṣyamitra and Dhanadeva, the latter is placed in *c.* 68 BC which fits well with the period suggested by the Brāhmi letters on the coins. Dhanadeva's coins have also been found at Kauśāmbī, most probably through trade rather than as part of Kośalan hold over it.

The early Kośala coinage beginning with Mūladeva ceases from the end of the first century BC. Naradatta and Śivadatta, whose coins have been found in Kośala, were probably not associated with the Śuṅga family of Ayodhyā, connected with the main line of Puṣyamitra as specified in the inscription of Mūladeva. Coins bearing legends in Brāhmī of about the close of the second century AD no doubt furnish names of Sūryamitra, Aryamitra, Saṃghamitra, Vijayamitra, Devamitra and Ajavarman. These rulers were in no way connected with the Śuṅgas of the main line or the collateral one. It is suggested that they may be in some manner connected with the Paṭumitras and Puṣyamitras of Mekala and Kośala mentioned in the Paurāṇic accounts of the dynasties of the pre-Gupta age. It is equally likely that they might have preceded the Kuṣāṇa hold over this region, as is evident from the Sahet-Mahet inscription of Kaniṣka.[121]

Pañcāla

A large number of coins discovered from Ramnagar, Aonla, Ahicchatra, Budaon suggest the existence of an independent dynasty ruling over the ancient kingdom of Pañcāla. On the basis of their uniformity and circulation confined only to north Pañcāla, Cunningham assigned[122] these to a local dynasty. These coins were rarely found beyond this geographical area. While considering the identity of these Pañcāla rulers with the Śuṅgas on the basis of some common names ending in 'mitra', Cunningham pointed out that 'the assignment was uncertain

since only one of the coin names Agnimitra is found in the Paurāṇic list of the Śuṅgas. This view was contradicted by some scholars[123] who tried to identify several coin-names, besides that of Agnimitra, and also pointed to the finds of Mitra coins at Ayodhyā and Mathurā. According to Rapson,[124] the coins under this heading have usually been attributed to the Śuṅga or Mitra dynasty. He pointed out that 'the formation of the names which generally end in 'mitra' is similar in either case; and the Śuṅga period inferred from the Purāṇas 176-166 BC is that of the style and epigraphy of the coins'. He also noticed some connection between these coins and the Mitra coins found at Ayodhyā.

K.P. Jayaswal[125] and several others identified the Pañcāla rulers with the Śuṅga-Kāṇva kings without going into the merit of Jayaswal's proposed identity theory, it may be pointed out that the list of rulers identified is neither complete from the Paurāṇic side, nor does it bring out the names of all the Pañcāla rulers. Originally the list consisted of 12 rulers,[126] but there have been later additions—Bṛhaspatimitra, Varuṇamitra, Parjāpatimitra[127] and Vaṅgapāla.[128] Further, the name of Agnimitra also figures in the list of Kauśāmbī rulers.[129]

None of the kings of this dynasty of Pañcāla, the coins of which cover a period of from about 200 BC to the end of the first century BC according to Allan,[130] is known from inscriptions or literature. Further, the identity of name is not sufficient to identify Indramitra with his name-sake whose queen dedicated a railing at Bodh Gayā.[131] Attempts have from time to time been made to identify rulers of this dynasty with names in the Paurāṇic texts of the Śuṅga dynasty but without success. The only name common in both the lists is that of Agnimitra, which is too familiar a name for any deduction to be made from it. Sujyeṣṭha or Vasujyeṣṭha has been identified with Jyeṣṭhamitra (Jeṭhamitra) who had no connection with the Pañcāla series, even if the possibility of this contraction be accepted. The identification of Bhadraghoṣa with Ghoṣa of the Paurāṇic lists is very unlikely. Bhūmimitra is identified with the Kāṇva king of the same name, but his coins cannot be removed from the middle of the Pañcāla series, while the Kāṇva was the second of the successors of the Śuṅgas.

The evidence of the uniformity of coins and of their find,

spots show that this 'Mitra dynasty' ruled in Northern Pañcāla, and perhaps also in part of Southern Pañcāla, with Ahicchatra as their capital. They cannot be identified with the Śuṅgas. It is suggested by Allan that the dynasty was in existence before the Śuṅgas, and survived not only the Śuṅgas but also the Kāṇvas, probably disappearing with the latter before the Śakas. Further, Agnimitra's name also figures in the list of rulers whose names have been found at Kauśāmbī, but the coin types of the two Agnimitras of Pañcāla and Kauśāmbī differ. The usual three symbols on the obverse of the Pañcāla type are not noticed on the coins of Agnimitra of Kauśāmbī. If the two rulers were identical then are we to presume that Agnimitra Śuṅga issued two different sets of coins—one for Pañcāla and the other for Kauśāmbī, and curiously enough not a single coin of Agnimitra was found at Vidiśā, the Provincial seat, or at Pāṭaliputra, the Metropolis. It is, therefore, reasonable to accept the suggestion of Cunningham and endorsed by Allan that the Pañcāla rulers formed a separate local dynasty as is supported by uniform symbols found on the coins of all the rulers in this group.

The history of this local dynasty is no doubt obscure, but its relations with other families could be traced. It is proposed[132] that Sonakāyanīputra Vaṅgapāla and his father Tevaniputra Bhāgavata who are both styled kings in the Pabhosa inscription may have been from Pañcāla, with the former probably as a provincial head under the Śuṅgas. He became independent with the decline of the Śuṅga power. The political importance of Pañcāla can be evinced from Patañjali's reference[133] to its division into two—north and east, with Ahicchatra as the capital of the former.

Kauśāmbī

The rulers of Kauśāmbī form a separate group, as is evident from their coins with different symbols, the two Pabhosa records and the Mora tablet inscription. The characteristic symbols on Kauśāmbī coins are a bull and a tree in railing. The coins in this series include those of Bṛhaspatimitra (I), Paravata, Aśvaghoṣa, Bṛhaspatimitra (II), Dhanadeva, Agnimitra and Jeṭhamitra.[134] The identity of Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra has been ruled out for obvious reasons. Besides these coins, some inscriptions are helpful in tracing the names of Kauśāmbī rulers and their relations with contemporary powers. Thus, the

Mora inscription[135] records the names of Bahasatimitra whose daughter Yaśomatī was married to the ruler of Mathurā. Nothing more is known about him. A Pabhosa inscription[136] records the excavation of a cave (*lena*) by Āṣāḍhasena (Āṣadhasena), the son of Gopāli Vaihidari and maternal uncle of Bahasatimitra (Bṛhaspatimitra), son of Gopali, for the Kassapīya (Kasyapīya) Arahamtas (Arhats). The two Bahasatimitras of the Mora and Pabhosa records need not be identical, as their palaeography shows some difference. The Pabhosa record mentions dedication of the cave by the uncle and the Mora one by the daughter, thus pointing to the posterior character of the latter. According to Allan[137] the two are not identical; and the coins of the two Bahasatimitras show differences. The Bahasatimitra of the inscribed coin who may probably be placed in the first century BC is different from the one who issued the struck coins (nos. 16-25 of Allan's (*Catalogue*) which are fairly common. Rapson had suggested[138] that king Bṛhaspatimitra II of Kauśāmbī was presumably a feudatory of the Śuṅga emperor Udāka[139] mentioned in the Pabhosa record. But the absence of ary honorific title before the name of Udāka makes it highly unlikely that it is the name of a sovereign ruler. Moreover, as a feudatory, Bṛhaspatimitra could not have issued coins in his name alone. As such he is to be regarded as an independent ruler of Kauśāmbī.

Another point worth consideration is with regard to the identification of Bṛhaspatimitra of the Kauśāmbī coins with Bahasatimitra of the Hāthīgumphā inscription who was defeated by king Khāravela of Kaliṅga. The reading of the inscription with regard to the name of the ruler itself is doubtful. According to Allan,[140] once again, the word in question '*bahu*' (S. . .) *idita* is very probably not a proper name for the suggested reading of the preceding words as *Magadham ca rājānam* is extremely improbable philologically as well as palaeographically. Moreover, the Kauśāmbī ruler belonged to a local dynasty and his realm did not extend to Magadha. So the identification of Bahasatimitra with Bṛhaspatimitra with the supposed name sake of the Hāthīgumphā inscription is extremely improbable.

Coins bearing the names of a few other rulers from Kauśāmbī include those of Jyeṣṭhamitra, Praustamitra, Varuṇamitra and Puṣpaśrī; Aśvaghoṣa and Pavata or Parvata.[141] Varuṇa-

mitra of the coins may be identical with Gotīputra Varuṇamitra of a Kauśāmbī inscription[142] of his son whose name is lost. Aśvaghoṣa of the Kauśāmbī coins might be identified with Aśvaghoṣa of the Sārnāth pillar inscription.[143] If the two could be identified then Sārnāth formed part of the kingdom of Kauśāmbī. The dates of these rulers are uncertain and they may have belonged to the post Śuṅga-Kāṇva period, but certainly before the Kuṣāṇas as both Kauśāmbī and Sārnāth formed part of the Kuṣāṇa empire.[144]

Mathurā

The classification of Mathurā coins[145] suggest that there were two local Hindu dynasties in the second and first centuries BC followed by a dynasty or dynasties of Śaka-Satraps, who bore the title Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa. The early Hindu kings include Gotimitra I distinguished from this later one—called Gotimitra II by characteristic four symbols. The later one has on the obverse Lakṣmī standing facing holding a lotus and in all has five different symbols. The reverse is the three elephant type unlike the tree in railing on the coin of the former. The coins that follow are round pieces of the regular Mathurā type. They bear the names of Brahmamitra, Dṛdhamitra, Sūryamitra, Viṣṇumitra, Pususadatta, Uttamadatta and Rāmadatta. The coins of the former four are identical with those of Gomitra (II). It may therefore be proposed that they formed one ruling dynasty of Mathurā. Pususadatta, Uttamadatta and Rāmadatta I seem to form another group and their coins reveal the replacement of the Ujjain symbol by another one. The next in the group who add the title *rājan* to their names includes Rāmadatta II, Kāmadatta Śeṣadatta, Bhāvadatta, Uttamadatta and Bālabhūti.[146] These coins are supposed to cover the period from the end of the third to the middle of the first century BC, when these Hindu rulers were succeeded by Śakas. The latter fall in two groups: (*a*) the Kṣatrapa Śivaghoṣa, Śivadatta, Hagamāsa and Hagāna, and (*b*) the Mahākṣatrapa Rajuvula (Rajula) and his son Sodasa.

A few inscriptions from Mathurā reveal the names of Gomitra, Viṣṇumitra,[147] Dhanabhūti,[148] besides Brahmamitra who has been identified by some scholars[149] as the Brahmamitra of the Bodh Gayā pillar inscription. The distance between Mathurā and Bodh Gayā with the intervening kingdom of

Kauśāmbī alone negates this suggestion. As pointed out earlier, a king of Mathurā had married Yaśomatī, the daughter of king Bṛhaspatimitra of Kauśāmbī. It is presumed by Rapson[150] that the Mathurā rulers, like others in the Gangetic plain, were feudatories of the Śuṅgas, since their names have not been independently mentioned in the Paurāṇic texts. Allan[151] also endorsed Rapson's contention that the rulers of Mathurā were vassals of the Śuṅgas. It might as well be pointed out that these rulers belonged to the period of Śuṅga's decline of power consequent to probable internal dissention and external Indo-Greek pressure.[152] The independent status of these rulers need not be doubted in view of their issuing coinage.

The Śaka Kṣatrapa series as noticed earlier include two groups of rulers—the first one consisting of Kṣatrapa Śivaghoṣa, Śivadatta, Hagamāsa and Hagāna, and the second one includes the Mahākṣatrapa Rājuvula (Rājula) and his son Śoḍāsa with the same title. Several inscriptions[153] of this ruler have been found. Mathurā was conquered by the Śakas about 75 BC and remained under foreign rule for more than a couple of centuries.[154] According to Allan,[155] the coins of Hindu kings of Mathurā covers the period from the beginning of the second to the middle of the first century BC. The first group of Śaka Kṣatrapas consisting of Śivadatta and Hagamāsa may be placed about 60-40 BC. Some of them might have been Rājuvula's contemporaries. He might be placed between 40-20 BC and Śoḍāsa in 20-10 BC or a little later.

The posterior nature of Rājuvula and his son and successor Śoḍāsa as successors of the earlier Kṣatrapas bearing Hindu names, as also Hagāna and Hagamāsa was endorsed by Rapson.[156] He further suggested that Hagāna and Hagamāsa ruled conjointly. J.N. Banerji, however, proposed[157] that 'a careful consideration of the coin types and the absence of any mention of Hagamāsa and Hagāna in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions would justify us in assigning them a place after Rājuvula and his son Śoḍāsa. He based his contention on the use of legends in Brāhmī script on the copper coins of the other group of Mathurā Kṣatrapas, namely Śivadatta, Śīvaghoṣa, Hagamāsa and both Hagamāsa and Hagāna. Further, the paucity and somewhat indifferent execution of their coin types with 'the standing Lakṣmī and Horse' device on all their coins suggest their short

rule after Śoḍāsa. It is as well suggested by the late Carmichael Professor that Śivadatta and Śivaghoṣa were Indians bearing the foreign title, or, as is more probable, foreigners using Indian names.[158] The gradual Indianisation of the names is also suggestive of a later date for these two Kṣatrapas, later even than Hagamāsa and Hagāna.

Punjab

The inclusion of the Punjab within the empire of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and its subsequent loss to the Indo-Greeks is a subject that demands consideration. The *Divyāvadāna* describes that failing to destroy the famous Buddhist monastery as Kukkuṭagrāma at Pāṭaliputra being foiled by divine roar; Puṣyamitra marched at the head of a strong army on a mission of destroying stupas and monasteries and killing Buddhist monks. At Śākala (Sialkot) he is said to have announced a reward of one hundred dinars for killing a monk. This story from the *Divyāvadāna*[159] is also traced in the *Mañjūśrīmūlakalpa*[160] and the campaign of the Śuṅga ruler is accepted as an historical fact.[161] This story, according to Tarn,[162] is not without some truth. It cannot, however, be denied that Menander's occupation of Śākala or Sialkot was a great challenge to the Śuṅga rule in the Punjab and this event might have happened any time in the last days of Puṣyamitra, or in the time of his successors. The line of Euthydemos in the East Punjab and that of Eucratides in the West Punjab and North-East Afghanistan, figure prominently in the political history of North-West India during the first two centuries before the Christian era. It has been proposed by Tarn,[163] that Menander was governor or Viceroy for Demetrius of all the conquests south-eastward of the river Jhelum, and he assumed the title of king probably before the death of his overlord. The death of Demetrius and Apollodotus and the return of Eucratides to Bactria, left him complete master of the situation in North-West India. The matrimonial alliance between Menander and Agathocleia, who later on acted as the regent of their son Strato I, confirmed Menander's claim to the throne.

According to Przyluski,[164] Menander's empire extended from Mathurā in the east to Barygaza (Broach) in the south-west. This claim seems to have been based on the finds of his coins

and may not be completely acceptable. This Indo-Greek ruler, however, had carved out a substantial kingdom in the north-west India. On the basis of the finds of coins of Menander's successors, it may be suggested that these included Agathocleia, the mother and regent ruling on behalf of Strato I, the latter as an independent ruler, and afterwards ruling conjointly with his grandson Strato II whose date is fixed by Tarn[165] in 100 BC. The encroachments from the other Indo-Greek rulers, lying to the west, seem to have made Menander's successors uncomfortable. Coins of Agathocleia and Strato, and those of Strato alone, sometimes found restruck with the type of Heliocles[166] bearing the reverse type 'victory' suggest that the former paved the way for the latter in their kingdom.

Eucratides, the hero of the other house, is supposed to have deposed Demetrius in 175 BC, invaded the countries to the south of the Hindu Kush, and wrested from Demetrius and the princes of his house their dominions in the Kabul valley in Ariana (Arachosia and Aria) and in north-west India sometime before 162 BC. Eucratides too had an unhappy end. Deprived of his possessions in Ariana by Mittradates I, he was slain shortly afterwards by his son Heliocles in *c.* 155 BC.[167] The history of this family can be traced in coins. Its members ceased to rule in Bactria and they had to be satisfied with their possessions in north-west India alone. One of the rulers of this family, Antialkidas, whose name appears in the Besnagar record,[168] established diplomatic relations with the Śuṅga ruler at Vidiśā through his ambassador Heliodorus. This inscription is helpful in fixing the probable date of this Indo-Greek ruler of Taxila. Evidence from the coins is suggestive of the Yavanas paving the way for the Śakas after the reign of Archebius.[169] The Taxila copper-plate inscription[170] refers to the conquest of the city by the Śaka ruler Maues who has ruling there in the year 78, probably of the era of 58-7[171] BC, corresponding to AD 19-20. The Śaka conquest gave a death blow to the rule of the Greeks in the Punjab.

Some of the Contemporary Tribes

The important contemporary tribes whose coins have been found, were the Yaudheyas, the Ārjunāyanas, the Auḍumbaras, the Kunindas and the Agastyas. Patañjali also mentions some

of these tribes. The Yaudheyas were the most important one with their territory lying between the Sutlej and the Yamunā. They are mentioned by Pāṇini,[172] and along with the Trigartas formed an 'Ayuddha jīvi Saṃgha' living by fighting. In the *Mahābhārata* they appear in the usual passages with other Punjab tribes. In the Junāgarh inscription[173] of Rudradāman of the year AD 72-150 the Mahākṣatrapa claims to have destroyed the Yaudheyas who were proud of their valour. This reference is suggestive of their existence as a political unit till the second century AD as also their territory extending into Western Rajputana. The finds of Yaudheya coins from various sites[174] suggest the extent of their territory. According to Allan,[175] the coins of the Yaudheyas fall into three categories—classes 1, 2 and 5 of the second and first centuries BC indicate a period of independence, from the fall of the Mauryas to the coming of the Kuṣāṇa into power.

The Ārjunāyanas are placed according to the *Bṛhatsamithā*[176] along with the Yaudheyas in the northern division of India. They are not noticed by Pāṇini or Patañjali. Their existence is confirmed by the coins bearing the name Ārjunāyana known in several varieties. The legend *Ārjunāyanāmvijaya*—'Victory of the Ārjunāyanas' is similar to the one on the coins of the Yaudheyas. The palaeography of the coin legends suggests a date about 100 BC. The country of the Ārjunāyanas probably lay within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra.[177]

Audumbaras

The Audumbaras issued several types of coins,[178] the earliest ones—distinctly Indian in type with no trace of foreign influence are square copper ones. These were found in large number at Imphal in the Kangra district of the old Punjab. The names of four kings occur on coins in this series—Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeva and Dhanaghoṣa. The obverse type is a tall tree in an enclosure and the reverse one is a two-storeyed dome and pillared stupa besides which stands a trident with an axe-head on the shaft. The inscription on the obverse is in Kharoṣṭhī and that on the reverse is in Brāhmī. Mahādeva also appears as a regal title on these coins, though the existence of a ruler of this name is not doubted. There is a silver coin bearing it with the additional title Bhāgavata. These coins could be dated

in the first century BC on the basis of the palaeography of the letters. A rare coin of Dhanaghoṣa is modelled on the Graeco-Indian hemidrachm, and may be dated in the middle of the first century BC.[179] Other coins, probably also of the Audumbaras bearing legends both in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī are those of rulers whose names end in 'mitra'. These are Āryamitra (Ajamita), Mahīmitra, Bhūmimitra, and Mahābhūmimitra, with a male figure standing to left holding a spear in right hand on the obverse and elephant to left and tree on left on the reverse. The legends are in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī respectively on the obverse and reverse. From the find spots of their coins, the Audumbaras are located in the area formed by the eastern part of modern Kangra, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur districts between the upper Sutlej and Ravi.

Kunindas

The Kuninda coins falls into two main groups, one issued about the end of the first century BC and the other about three centuries later.[180] The former bears the name of Amoghabhūti while the latter one is anonymous with the title Śiva only. It is proposed[181] that Amoghabūti was an Indian chief who founded a short-lived kingdom at the close of the period of Greek domination in the Punjab in the last half of the first century AD which was swept away by the Śakas. According to Cunningham,[182] the Kuninda coins were found mainly between Ambala and Saharanpur. They probably occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Śivālik hills between the Yamunā and the Sutlej and the territory between the upper course of the Beas and Sutlej. The Kuninda coinage reappears after the end of the second century AD, when, according to some scholars, the Kuṣāṇa empire had broken up.[183]

Two other tribal republics seem to have existed in the second century BC. One was that of the Trigartas and the other one of the Agastyas.[184] The Trigartas were noted warriors and are mentioned by Pāṇini (V.3.116). Their existence as an independent republic in the second century BC is indicated by a coin bearing the legend *Traktajanapada* in Brāhmī characters. Their territory in ancient times comprised the plain area between the rivers Ravi and Sutlej. The other republican state of the Agastyas was adjacent to the Yaudheya republic of Rohtak.

It has been identified with Agroha in the Hissar district of the Punjab. The coins call the ruling tribe *Agaca* (Skt. Agatya or Agastya).

The Andhras

According to the Purāṇas, after the Śuṅgabhṛtyakāṇvāyana, the earth was to pass on to the Andhras.[185] The Andhra Simukha with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kāṇvāyana and destroy the remains of the Śuṅga power, and obtain this earth. The Andhras, also known as Sātavāhanas[186] in records, endured for unbroken maximum period of 460 years according to the *Matsya*, and a minimum of 300 years according to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. The starting point of this dynasty working on the contemporaneity and double defeat of Sātakarṇī mentioned in the Junar inscription at the beginning of Śivaśiri Pulumāvi's seven year reign is placed about 235 BC.[187] This date would not be in conformity with the Paurāṇic evidence recalling the murder of the last Kāṇva ruler by the first Andhra king which took place in *c.* 28 BC. In this context Barnett suggested that after the death of Aśoka, the Mauryan empire rapidly declined and the neighbouring rulers were left free to indulge in their ambitious designs to enlarge their boundaries. Among these was a certain person named Simukha, who within the last quarter of the third century BC established the powerful Sātavāhana or Sātakarṇi dynasty, which ruled over the Telugu country for five centuries.

Some information on the early history of the Andhras is also provided by the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela,[188] the Nanaghat inscription of Nāyañika[189] and the Sāñcī record of Rājanśīri Sātakarṇi.[190] The first record on palaeographic grounds is to be dated in the first century BC. The Sātakarṇi ruler who was the contemporary of Khāravela is thus placed in the first century BC. The Sātakarṇi ruler of the Sāñcī record was identified by Cunningham with the third Andhra king. The date and character of this inscription as well as of others of the Sāñcī gateway are almost identical with those of the Nanaghat inscriptions. Persuing the Paurāṇic evidence,[191] one finds in the description of the dynasties of Vidiśā, that after the destruction of the Śuṅgas, Śiśunandī, his younger brother

Nandiyasas and three others would rule there. His daughter's son Śiśukha became king of Purikā (at some unspecified time). The name Śiśukha may have been wrongly spelt for Simukha, the founder of the Andhra dynasty. If the two could be identified it might be possible to agree with Raychaudhuri[192] that after overthrowing the Śuṅgas, Simukha annexed Purīkā and placed Vidiśā under the rule of his maternal relations. This conjecture agrees with the date proposed for the beginning of the Andhra rule. The defeated Śuṅga prince may have been Viśvamitra of the Besnagar seal.[193] Śiśunandī mentioned in the seal could be identified with Rājan Svāmin Śīvanandī whose seal was found at Pawaya. The history of the Andhras need not be considered here since it falls outside the purview of this study.

An attempt has no doubt been made here to present a fuller picture of the political condition in the time of Patañjali taking into consideration the period of the Śuṅga-Kāṇvas, the Indo-Greeks in the Punjab and certain minor states of northern India, particularly that of Khāravela of Kaliṅga, the tribal ones of northern India and the role of the early Andhras. Factors responsible for the break-up of the Mauryan empire within less than fifty years after the death of Aśoka, the attempt of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga to integrate the loose political fabrics, the expanding tide of the Greek power in the north and its check by the Śuṅgas, and the ambitious role of Khāravela of Kaliṅga much later in the first century BC rather than as a contemporary of Puṣyamitra have all been considered in detail. The evidence relating to the period is rather scanty, and, as the late Professor Rapson suggested more than sixty years back, 'in our attempt to reconstruct the mosaic of ancient Indian history from the few pieces which have as yet been found, we can do little more than define the limits of the possible hypothesis in this instance. The position despite the passage of more than half a century, has not changed. We have still to wait for adequate material before venturing to reconstruct a more detailed account of the history of northern India from the second century BC to the beginning of the Christian era.

References

[1]The *Gārgīsamhitā*, an astrological work of uncertain date, placed anywhere from the Christian era to the third century AD contains one chapter, the *Yugapurāṇa*, recording an historical account of (among other matters) the Greek advance to Pāṭaliputra. The text was first edited by H. Kern (vol. XLVIII of the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1865) along with a translation of a greater part of it. K.P. Jayaswal devoted special attention to it with a translation and an historical introduction '(Historical Data in the Gārgīsamhitā and the Brahmin Empire', *JBORS*, XIV, 1928, pp. 397ff). See also Weber, *Indische Studien*, XIII, 1873, p. 306; A.V. Dhruva, *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 18ff; D R. Mankad, *JUPHS*, XX, pp. 3ff; W.D. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Appendix 4, pp. 452ff; D C. Sircar, *JRAS*, 1963, pp. 7ff The historical account of the Yavanas in the *Yugapurāṇa* is considered as valuable by the historians in general, though Fleet considers it historically worthless (*JRAS*, 1914, p. 795). For reference to Yavana, invasion in several works, see Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, pp. 262ff; E.J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp. 131ff; *Cambridge History of India*, vol.I, p. 540: V.A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th edn., p. 228 and n; Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edn., pp. 386 ff; R.C. Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 106ff; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A Comprehensive History of India*, (*COHI*), vol. II, pp. 152ff; A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 174ff; A N. Lahiri, *IHQ*, XXXIII, pp. 40ff; B.N. Puri, *India in the Time of Patañjali*, 1st edn., pp 27ff; *supra*, pp. 22ff.

[2]Andhra is both a tribal and a territorial name. As a people the Andhras are mentioned as early as the fifth century BC. They figure along with the Parindas as border peoples in the inscriptions of Aśoka. The earliest reference to the Andhras is helpful in locating their home in the region comprising roughly the present Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā and Guntur districts. (*COHI*, p. 296). The earliest reference to an Andhra–Sātakarṇi ruler is a record from Sāñcī (no. 346). It probably belongs to about the middle of the first century BC (*CHI*, p. 533). On the basis of inscriptions and coins, Eastern Malwa marks the north-eastern limit of the Andhra power. (Rapson, op. cit.)

[3]The hero of the Hāthīgumphā inscription of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga was the thirteenth king of the Ceta family. This record is undated, but on palaeographic grounds it cannot be placed earlier than the beginning of the second century BC. The historical events narrated in the inscription could be helpful in recording contemporary history as also in narrowing the limits which it would be out of question to place during the hey-day of the Śuṅga glory (*COHI*, p. 112). The Kaliṅga inroads over the plains of northern India could only be possible either immediately preceding the accession or Puṣyamitra or after the collapse of the Śuṅga power. For a fuller bibliography on Khāravela, see, Louis de la Vallee, Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas etc.*, pp. 193ff.

[4]*Puṣyamitras tu senānir uddhṛtya sa Bṛhadratham* (*Mat.*, 272.27.5;

Vāyu., 99.337; *Brah.*, III.74).

[5]*Prajñādurbalam ca baladarśanavyapadeśa-darśitaśeṣa-sainyāḥ senāniranāryo Mauryam Bṛhadratham pipeṣa Puṣyamitraḥ svāminam.* (ed. Fuhrer, p. 269; Parab's edn., p. 199). *Anārya* is translated as 'low-born' by Cowell and Thomas (translation, p. 193). Jayaswal, justifies this act of the Mauryan General (*JBORS*, 1918, p. 260). The word *anārya* is translated in the lexicons as 'not honourable' (Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 28, col. 3). In the context in which Bāṇa enumerates cases of persons who paid for their weaknesses, it is conceivable that the act, however, treacherous, might have been justified in national interest. The same reference also quotes Rāmagupta's murder by his brother Candragupta.

[6]IV.1.117. *Vikarṇa-Śuṅgacchalād vatsa-Bhāradvājatriṣu.*

[7]*Madragāra-cchaungayaner Mādragāraḥ Śauṅgāyaniḥ.* 1 Khaṇḍa. *Indische Studien*, IV, p. 38.

[8]*Bhāradvāja-agniveśy-arkṣa Śuṅgaḥ S'āisirayaḥ Kataḥ. Aśvar S'rauPariśiṣta*, XII.13.5.

[9]Cowell and Neil, ed, p. 433. See also Bournouf, *Introduction du Budáhisme*, p. 430; Przyluski, *La Legend d'Aśoka*, p. 90; Lüders, *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, pp. 98.

[10]*IC*, III, p. 739ff.

[11]*Dakṣiṇām nāma bimbosṭhi Baimbikānam Kulavratam.* Act IV, verse 14, 'Politics indeed, O! Bimba-limbed is the family tradition of the descendants of Bimbaka.

[12]Bhaviṣyaparva, chap. II, verse 40.

Audhijjo bhavita kaścit senāniḥ kasyapo dvijaḥ
Aśvamedham Kaliyuge punaḥ pratyāhariṣyati.

[13]Vol. III, p. 449; *IC*, III, p. 41n.

[14]*IC*, VI, p. 410.

[15]Lüders, *List of Inscriptions*, nos. 687, 688.

[16]*JBORS*, X, 1924, p. 203; *IC*, VI, p. 410.

[17]*Proceedings of Indian Oriental Congress* (*IOC*), III, Madras, p. 379.

[18]*IHQ*, VIII, p. 739.

[19]J.C. Ghosh, *IHQ*, XV, p. 629.

[20]*EI*, V, p. 68. It is proposed by Rapson that the association of the Bhāradvāja with the Viṭhahāvya--from whom the Vitihotras probably derived their name, sheds light on the home of the Śuṅgas in the region of Vidiśā (*CHI*, p. 518).

[21]*Puṣyamitras tu Senānir uddhṛitya vai Bṛhadratham karayiṣyati vai rājyam saṣṭhin sad-aiva tu* (*Vāyu*; 99.337, Ānandāśrama edn.). The reading of the *Matsyapurāṇa* varies as regards the length of his reign. (*śattrimśati sama nṛpaḥ*) and not sixty years as given in the *Vāyupurāṇa.*

[22]*Agnimitraḥ Sutas-ca-āṣṭau bhaviṣyati samāngripaḥ.*

This line is noticed only in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇda* Purāṇa. The former has Puṣyamitra instead of Agnimitra.

[23]*bhavitāpi Vasujyeṣṭah sapta varṣāṇi vai nṛpaḥ* (*Matsya*). The *Vāyu* has Tajjyeṣṭa, while the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Viṣṇu* Purāṇas mention Sujyeṣṭha.

[24]*Vasumitraḥ suto bhavyo varṣaṇi pārthivaḥ.* There is no difference

in name or in the length of years. The *Matsya* has *vai tataḥ* for *pārthivaḥ*.

[25]*tato'ndhrakaḥ samedve tu bhaviṣyati surās ca vai* (*Vāyu*). The name of this ruler varies accerding to different Purāṇas—Antaka (*Matsya*), Bhadraka (*Bhāgavata*), Andraka (*Viṣṇu*). The correct name seems to be Andhraka of the *Vāyupurāṇa*. All the Purāṇas assign him a reign of only 2 years.

[26]*bhaviṣyati samas tasmāt tisra eva Pulindakaḥ* (*Vāyu*). In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* the last letter *ka* is elided. The *Vāyupurāṇa* also gives the correct name.

[27]*rājā Ghoṣa sutas'-c-api varṣāṇi bhavitā trayaḥ* (*Vāyu*). Certain manuscripts quoted by Pargiter mention his name differently—Yomejha, Yomekha or Mcmekha, which might be a misreading for Ghoṣa mentioned in the *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu* Purāṇas (*Ghoṣavasu*).

[28]*bhavitā Vajramitras tu samā rāja punar bhavaḥ* (*Matsya*). The name is Vikramitra (*Vāyu*) or Vajramitra (*Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu*). The length of his reign is 9 years (*navaḥ*) though the word for it is *bhavaḥ* (*Matsya*) or *punaḥ* (*Vāyu*).

[29]*dva-triṃśat tu Samabhagaḥ tato nṛpaḥ*. The *Vāyupurāṇa* calls the ninth Śuṅga ruler *Bhāgavata* (1.341) which is supported by the *Bhāgavata* and the *Viṣṇu* Purāṇas.

[30]*bhaviṣyati sutas tasya Devabhūmi Samādaśa* (*Matsya*). According to the *Vāyupuraṇa*, the name of the last ruler is Kṣemabhūmi. The *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu* Purāṇas call him Devabhūmi.

[31]Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 31.

[32]According to D.C. Sircar (*JRAS*, 1963, p. 19) *pratijñadurbalam* might be more intelligible than *prajñā-durbala* meaning 'weak in intelligence' i.e. a 'foolish person'. It is no doubt difficult to determine the nature of the *prajñā*, *pratijñā* or promise. It is quite likely that the reference is to the earlier promise made by the Mauryan ruler to defend his capital and his people against foreign invasion which he failed to keep up. This resulted not only in his unpopularity with his subjects but also in the deflation of his personality and his image. The Commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra therefore had no difficulty in so easily disposing off his master. Bāṇa also quotes another such instance of Rāmagupta who was killed by his own brother Candragupta. This coward ruler had purchased peace by agreeing to provide his queen to the Śaka invader. (See Majumdar, ed., *The Classical Age*, pp. 17-18).

[33]The date of Candragupta Maurya's accession is supposed to coincide with the end of Macedonian authority. Scholars have fixed this date differently (Smith, 322 BC—*EHI*, p. 124; Thomas, 321 BC, *CHI*, p. 471; Hultzsch. 320 BC endorsing Fleet's view, *CII*, I, p. xxxv; Raychaudhuri, 324 BC, *IC*, II, p. 560; *PHAI*. 5th edn., p 295n). According to the Professor Raychaudhuri this date accords with the testimony of Greek writers. The Jain tradition suggests 313 BC for Candragupta's accession (Charpentier, *IA*, 1914, pp. 119-20). It is assumed that Candragupta carried on his war of independence during the two years 325-323 BC that intervened between the death of Philip and that of Philip's master,

Alexander. Thus, Candragupta's accession to sovereignty is dated in 323 BC (*COHI*, p. 5). Sten Konow, quoting Jacobi placed Candragupta's accession in 312 BC and that of Puṣyamitra in 204 BC, while the rule of the latter king is stated to have come to an end in 174 BC (*AO*, I, p. 34).

[34]The Yavanas are described as *adharmataḥ, kamato, durācaraḥ* and are condemned for killing women, children and cattle, and slaughtering one another (*strī-bala-go-vadham kṛtvahatvā caiva parasparam*). The evidence from the Purāṇas (Pargiter, op. cit., p. 56 and n.) is probably biased since the consequences following any foreign invasion are always disastrous for the local population.

[35]Dhruva compares Patañjali's use of *aruṇad* signifying the use of the imperfect in Sanskrit with *ajayad* used for the conquest of the Gupta (ruler) over the Hūṇas (*ajayad GuptoHūṇam* (*JBORS*, XVI, p. 33, n. 22).

[36]*Tataḥ Saketamakramya Pañcatamnathuram tatāḥ*
Yavana duṣṭa-vikrantaḥ prapsyanti Kusumadhvajam tataḥ
Puṣpapure prapte kardame prathite hite, akula visayaḥ
sarve bhaviṣyanti na samsayaḥ Sāstra-druma mahā-yuddham tadbhavi-ṣyati paścimam. 11.22.26.

According to some scholars, it was not the Yavanas who conquered Mathurā and Pañcāla, and together with the Yavanas attacked Sāketa and proceeded to Kusumadhvaja (Pāṭaliputra). (Narain, op.cit., pp. 82-3, 174; Majumdar, *JNSI*, XXII, 1960, p. 51). The former suggests that there was only one Greek raid upon Sāketa and Magadha, and that took place during the last years of the reign of Puṣyamitra about 150 BC.

[37]Op. cit., 11.42-43. Puṣyamitra's name also figures in the same reference. The destruction of the Yavanas in the civil war resulted in the emergence of seven powerful princes who with Śākala as their capital took up cudgels against Magadha and subsequently perished in battle. It is uncertain if this event connected with the clash between the Yavanas and the Śuṅga forces happened in the later part of Puṣyamitra's reign, or these were different episodes recording clashes between several Greek rulers under a suzerain. The reference to Puṣyamitra's rule over the land of the Madras suggests his victory over the Yavana forces and the extension of his empire as far as the territory of the Madras.

[38]*Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 141.

[39]According to Tarn, (ibid., p 142), Demetrius was responsible for the conquest of Sind. It is suggested that Patañjali mentions a town Dattamitri among the Sauvīras, founded by Dattamitra, who is named in the *Māhabhārata* as king of the Yavanas, and the Sauvīras. He is undoubtedly Demetrius. A Nasik inscription (no. 18, *EI*, VIII, p. 90) confirms the existence of this Demetrius. The question of Demetrius' conquest of Sind has been discussed by several scholars (R.G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, vol. I, pp 11ff; 176; D.R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1911, p. 12; Tarn, op. cit., pp. 142, 257, 568; Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 107; Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, p. 39). The identification of Dattamitra of the *Mahābhārata* with Demetrius is questioncd by Johnston (*JRAS*, 1939,

pp. 217ff; 1940, p. 189), as there is no proof of equating the two. The passage from the *Mahābhārata* referring to a Yavanādhīpa and Dattamitra is missing in the Poona edition of the text, and figures only in the Appendix, vol. I, App. I, text 80, pp. 927-29. Tarn has also withdrawn his original conclusions (Addenda, pp. 526, 536). Narain points out that 'apart from the spuriousness of those passages, the internal evidence is not coherent and it hardly leads to any conclusion (*Indo-Greeks*, p. 39). Further, Dattamitra was not the name of the Yavanādhīpa mentioned in the passage; it seems to be only an epithet of Sumitra, a king of Sauvira.

[40]XI.x 1. McCrindle, *India in Classical Literature*. The original passage runs as follows: 'The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt, became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India according to Apollodotus of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus) conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemos, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene, but of the kingdom of Sarostus and Sigerdis which constitute the remainder of the coast. (See also Strabo, XV.1.27; McCrindle, ibid., p. 7).

[41]XV.1.27. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 32.

[42]Narain quotes Marshall's report suggesting that out of 519 coins discovered in Taxila excavations, there is only a copper coin with the trident bearing the name of Demetrius (*Taxila*, vol. II, p. 798) which probably belongs to the other Demetrius. There are other places in Gandhāra, in which numberless coins of Indo-Greek rulers, even of those who probably did not rule there, have been found, but none of Demetrius I. (*Indo-Greeks*, p. 31).

[43]Op. cit., p. 146. The Saggala of Arrian (V.22) and that of Ptolemy (VII.1.46) who gives it another name Euthydemia might denote the same place and be identified with the ancient town of Śākala (Pāli Sāgala), modern Sialkot. It was proposed by Boyer that the town of Euthydemia was founded by Demetrius to commemorate his father's memory. This suggestion, generally acceptable to scholars (*CHI*, vol. I, p. 446) is rejected by Tarn both on historical and textual grounds (op. cit., pp. 247-8, 486-7). See also Sastri, *CHOI*, p. 152.

[44]Narain presumes that the lines in the *Yugapurāṇa* refer to the mutual feud resulting in a deadly war among the invaders who participated in the attack on Pāṭaliputra. (op. cit., p. 179). This might be a weak excuse for precipitating retreat by a victorious army. In earlier cases of the retreat of Alexander or that of Seleukos, it was the political factor as also the trouble at home. According to Plutarch, the battle with Porus depressed the spirits of the Macedonians, and made them very unwilling to advance further into India. Moreover, they were afraid of the Gangardae and the Prasii (Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 261). Both Justin and Plutarch furnish details regarding Seleukos coming to understanding with Candragupta, the former proceeding to join the war against

Antigonos. (Ibid., p. 272).

[45]Justin, XLI.6. According to Narain, this passage does not specially mention Demetrius as son of Euthydemos.

[46]*EI*, XX, p. 54.

[47]III.2.123, p. 124.4.

[48]Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 147ff. It is supposed to be the first dramatic work of Kālidāsa (Keith, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 433ff; Bloch, *ZDMG*, LXIII, pp. 671ff; Konow. *Indische Drama*, pp. 59ff). Vidarbha corresponding to modern Berar is referred to in this drama as a new kingdom established not long ago (*acirādhiṣṭhita*) and the king is described as not having taken roots in the heart of his subjects (*rājyaḥ śatru prakṛtiṣu ārūddhamūlatvāt*) and his destruction was easy like a tree which is unsteady because it has been only lately planted (*nava samārohaṇa sithilas tarur iva sukaraḥ sammuddhartum*) (Act I.8). The cause of the trouble is given in the letter written by the Vidarbha king who addresses Agnimitra as his royal brother.

[49]*Maurya sacivam vimuñccati yadi pūjyoḥ samyatān māma*
syālam mokta Mādhavasenas tato mayā bandhanāt sadyaḥ (Act I. 7).

This is suggestive of matrimonial relationship between the Mauryas and the Vidarbha family. Raychaudhuri, however, suggests that in the Mauryan court there were two parties or factions, one headed by the king's minister, and the other by his general. The minister's partisan was appointed governor of Vidarbha, while the general's son Agnimitra got the Viceroyalty of Vidiśā. When the General organised the *coup d'etat* by killing the Mauryan ruler and imprisoning the minister, Yajñasena declared his independence and entered into hostile relations with the usurping family. (*PHAI*, 1931, p. 236).

[50]*dvidhā vibhaktam śriyam udahantau*
dhuram rathasyāv-iva samgrahituḥ
tau sthāsyatas te nṛipatir nideśe
parasparā vagraha nirvikārau. (Act V.14)

The release of the Mauryan *saciva* was not a condition precedent to the truce, but we find later in the drama itself, he was released when the good news about the success of Vasumitra, grandson of Puṣyamitra, was received by his father Agnimitra and a general amnesty was granted. (*Yajñasenaśyālam urarikritya mucyantām* (*mocyatām*) *sarve bandhanśtha*). (Act V, p 101).

[51]It was suggested by L.D. Barnett that Yajñasena was a feudatory of the Andhras but it is clear from the drama that he did not receive any aid from any quarter. So either Barnett's assumption is wrong or the Andhra ruler was not in a position to come to his feudatory's aid. According to Rapson (*CHI*, p. 582), Ujjain was lost to the Andhra monarch Sātakarṇi I. This assumption is based on the coins of Malwa fabric bearing the name Śata identified by him with Sātakarṇi whose coins, however, have the full legend *raño siri sādavāhana* (*JNSI*, VII, p. 1). The inscription of queen Nayanika does not attribute the conquest of Avantī to Sātakarṇi I. The Jain tradition as preserved by Merutunga counts Puṣyamitra amongst the rulers of Avanti and assigns him a reign

of 30 years in this region. The Jain *gāthās* mention Balamita and Bhānumita as successors of Puṣyamitra in Avanti. Thus, an Andhra-Śuṅga conflict at this stage is ruled out, (*COHI*, pp. 97-98).

[52]Strabo, XI.516.

[53]*Numismatic Chronicle* (*NC*), 1872, p. 159; *IA*, XXXIII, p. 217.

[54]Many scholars doubt Cunningham's suggestion that the battle between the Yavana and the Śuṅga forces, as mentioned by Kālidāsa, took place on the bank of Kali Sindhu, a tributary of the Chambal, but on that of Indus itself. (See B.S. Upadhyaya *Journal of the Banaras Hindu University*' (*JBHU*), 1942, pp 171ff; also R.C. Majumdar, *IHQ*, I, p. 264). According to Tarn, the territory of Menander extended upto the Sindhu a tributary of the Chambal, and Vasumitra. who was guarding the horse, came to the south bank of the Sind u and had a brush with some Yavana cavalry who was patrolling the northern bank. (Tarn, op. cit , p 228). One need consider the evidence not piecemeal but as a whole. Menander's status as the ruler of Sagala is not questioned by any scholar, but the location of his capital is disputed by Narain. (Op. cit., Appendix III, pp. 172-3). He questions the identification of Sāgala of the *Milindapañha* with Sākala, the town of the Mādra country and proposes its identity with Udyana. The western limit of Puṣyamitra's empire is equally uncertain. In this context reference is also made by some scholars to the story in the *Divyāvadāna* recording Puṣyamitra's anti-Buddhist activities as far as Sākala (Sialkot) and even beyond tormenting the Buddhists. The substance of this story is also traced in the *Mañjūśrīmūlakalpa* which records the campaign of the Śuṅga ruler as an historical fact. (*IHQ*, XXII, pp. 82ff). Tarn takes the source of the story as, at best, only quasi-historical (op. cit., p. 177). In the maze of these conjectures, it is difficult to deny the clash between the two ruling powers; and it is more likely that Menander's forces might have clashed with the Śuṅga army near Kali Sindhu, rather than in the heart of the Yavana kingdom where they were certainly in a more formidable position.

[55]*The Indo-Greeks*. pp. 50ff; see also Majumdar, *JNSI*, XXII, p. 51.

[56]*JBORS*, X, p. 206.

[57]*PHAI*, 3rd edn., p. 267.

[58]*IC*, I, p. 279.

[59]*IHQ*, I, p. 91.

[60]*Proceedings International Congress of Orientalists Congress Leiden*, 1883, III, p. 135.

[61]*EI*, p. 88.

[62]*JRAS*, 1910, p. 242.

[63]*EI*, X, pp. 160-61, no. 1345.

[64]*IA*, 1914, p. 17.

[65]*JOBRS*, III, pp. 425ff; *EI*, XX, pp. 71ff.

[66]*JRAS*, 1918, pp. 543ff; 1919, p. 399.

[67]*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 12.

[68]*IN*, 1920, pp. 43ff.

[69]Ibid., 1918, pp. 223ff; 1919, pp. 187ff.

[70]Ibid., 1919, pp. 214ff; *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 395ff,

[71]Sten Konow also contended that king Khāravela who was not a Maurya would not date his epigraph in the Mauryan era, the less so because the rule of the Mauryas had ceased by that time. (*AO*, I, p. 17).

[72]*CHI*, pp. 624, 638.

[73]List no. 1345.

[74]*AO*, I, p, 26.

[75]*JBORS*, XIII. p. 252.

[76]*EI*, XX, p. 87 and n.

[77]*PHAI*, 3rd edn., p. 257.

[78]*Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udaigiri and Khandagiri*, p. 281.

[79]*IHQ*, V, p. 509.

[80]*Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, pp. xcvi, 150-52. In Allan's words, 'we cannot agree that Bṛhaspatimitra is mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription (p. xcviii). It is quite impossible to identify the Bṛhaspatimitra of the coins with the Śuṅga Puṣyamitra—quite apart from the improbability of this use of synonyms—for the coins cannot be removed from Kauśāmbi, the coins of which are a very homogeneous series.

[81]*COHI*, p. 98.

[82]*JBORS*, XVI, pp. 18ff.

[83]*CHI*, I, p. 519.

[84]Cowell and Neill, p. xxix

[85]*IHQ*, I, pp. 91ff.

[86]*AO*, I, p. 29.

[87]*JBORS*, X,p p. 202ff; XV, p. 583.

[88]Pargiter noticed another form *kārişyati* in a manuscript (*Dynasties to the Kali Age*, p. 31, n. 6) denoting plain future rather than causative. *Samā* stands for 'years' and not 'equal', and *aṣṭa* evidently meant 'eight' and not eight sons as proposed by Jayaswal.

[89]Wilson, vol. IV, p. 24.

[90]It is proposed that the correct form is Sujyeṣṭha, and the variant Vasujyeṣṭha is due to the confusion between *ca* and *va* which are alike in Gupta script (*COHI*, p. 100 and n).

[91]Rivet Carnac (*JASB*, 1880, p. 21ff) and later K.P. Jayaswal (*JBORS*, III, p. 477) and others suggested that besides Agnimitra a few more of the names recorded on the Pañcāla coins could be identified, as for example, Sujyeṣṭha or Vasujyeṣṭha with Jethamitra, Ghoṣamitra, Bhadragoṣa and Bhūmimitra with the Kāṇva king of that name. T.P. Bhattacharya also attempted to correlate the kings bearing the title 'Mitra' whose coins have been found at various places in northern India, with the Śuṅga-Kāṇva rulers, without adducing any new piece of evidence. (*JBORS*, XXXV, 1947, p. 47ff). Cunningham, much earlier, doubted the identity of the Pañcāla ruler with the Śuṅga monarch, and proposed that he probably belonged to a local dynasty of northern Pañcāla. Further, Agnimitra's name alone agrees with the Paurāṇic lists and none others. The circulation of Agnimitra's coins was confined only within the limits of

northern Pañcāla. According to Allan (*Cat. Coins of Ancient India*, pp. cxx, cxxi), these coins cannot be attributed to Agnimitra.

[92]Allan, op. cit.

[93]*PHAI*, op. cit, p. 267. Names of two Mitra kings—Bhānumitra and Indramitra are recorded on two rail pillars at Bodh Gayā as well as on coins discovered at Mathurā and Pañcāla (*CHI*, I, p. 526). According to Rapson, Brahmamitra was probably a contemporary of king Indramitra of Ahicchatra for both names are noticed on the railing pillars at Bodh Gayā, assigned on palaeographic grounds to the earliest part of the first century BC (ibid.).

[94]He is identified with Sumitra of Bāṇa. This name is also traced in some MSS of the Purāṇas though the majority of the Paurāṇic texts and Kālidāsa mention Vasumitra. It is taken as a scribal error. (*COHI*, p. 100n). According to Bāṇa, this ruler gives him self upto a life of ease and pleasure. Fond of music and dancing he was killed while enjoying a concert (*atidāyita-lasyāsya ca Saileṣa-madhyamadhyasda mūrdhānām asilataya mṛṇālam iva alunad-Agnimitrātmajasya Sumitrasya Mūladevaḥ*). One MSS from Kashmir gives the name of the assassin as Mitradeva which is taken as a scribal substitute on the analogy of expressions like Gandhadhipa or Magadhanātha meaning the Mitra-Śuṅga king. This Mūladeva is considered by Jagannath as a predecessor of Dhanadeva of the Ayodhyā inscription. (*COHI*, p. 100, n. 5).

[95]*JBORS*, III, p. 474. Ardraka or Orduka is identified with Udāka mentioned in a Pabhosa inscription (*EI*, II, p. 243). This Udāka also figures in the other inscription of Āṣāḍhasena (*EI*. II, p. 242, n. 1) who caused a cave to be dug in the tenth year of a ruler whose name is not very clear, but is presumed to be Udāka. According to Fuhrer, all letters are not very clear and if we take the second inscription into consideration, then it is Bahasatimitra who was ruling at Kauśāmbī close to the place where the cave was excavated. Jayaswal's identification of this ruler with the fifth Śuṅga monarch is not probable.

[96]*CHI*, pp. 521, 537. Barua, however, proposed that Udāka might be a place name in the absence of any honorific like *mahārājādhirāja* (*IHQ*, 1930, p. 23).

[97]*COHI*, p. 101. It is suggested by Jagannāth that by excluding the three names and their period of rule, covering only 8 years, the total length of Śuṅga dynasty comes to 112 years.

[98]Bhandarkar, *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 190; R.P. Chanda, *JRAS*, 1910, p. 396; *Memoirs, Arch. Sur. of India*, 1920 (no. 5), p. 152.

[99]Marshall-Bloch, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1053ff; Fleet; *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1087ff; Barnett, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1093ff; Bloch, *ZDMG*, LXIII, pp. 587ff; Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, XXIII, pp. 104ff; *Luder' List*, no. 669.

[100]*CHI*, pp. 521ff.

[101]*Harṣacarita*, p. 269.

[102]The Devabhūti of Bāṇa and Devabhūmi of the Purāṇas are identical. The latter mention the end of the last ruler of this dynasty in similar circumstances—*amātyo Vasudevas tu balāyād Vyāsanīnām nṛpam Devabhūmim tathotpatya Śuṅgeṣu bhavirā nṛpaḥ*—Pargitar, *Dynasties*, op. cit

pp. 33-4, 38. The end of this dynasty is placed in 75 BC. (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 98) or 73 BC. (*EHI*, p. 215; *COHI*, p. 102.)

[103]Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, p. 128, no. 1; R.L. Mitra, *Proceed. Beng. As. Soc.*, 1880, pp. 58ff; Hultzsch, *IA*, XIV, p. 1386; XXI, p. 227; *Luder's List*, no. 687.

[104]Cunningham, op. cit., p. 128, no. 2; *Luder's List*, no. 688.

[105]Cunningham, op. cit., p. 130; Senart, *IA*, XXI, p. 246, n. 62 *Luder's List*, no. 125.

[106]Cunningham, op. cit., p. LVI, no. 67; Hultzsch, *ZDMG*, XL, p. 60; *IA*, XXXI, p. 225. *Luder's List*, no. 882.

[107]*CHI*, I, p. 523.

[108]Ibid.

[109]The *Bhaviṣyānukīrtana* of the Purāṇas kstyles them servants of the Śuṅgas and *dvija* (twice-born) and represents the founder of the line as an *amātya* (minister of some other high official) of the last Śuṅga in the Paurāṇic list (Raychaudhuri, *IC*, VI, p. 411).

[110]Like the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvāyanas were Brahmins, tracing their origin to the Vedic Kāṇva (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 147). For references to the Kāṇvas in the Purāṇa, see *Amt.*, 272.32.37; *Vāyu*, 9; Pargitar, *DKA*, p. 33.

[111]Raychaudhuri, *IC*, VI, p. 412.

[112]*COHI*, p. 103; Jayaswal, *JBORS*, III, p. 479; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 5th edn. p. 388.

[113]*Proc. All-India Oriental Conference* (*PAIOC*), Madras, 1924, p. 412.

[114]*ABORI*. XIX, p. 83.

[115]*IC*, VI, p. 412.

[116]D.R. Sahni, *EI*, XX, pp. 54ff. See also Jayaswal who contributed three articles on this subject (*Modern Review*, October 1924, pp. 430-32); *JBORS*, X, pp. 2028; ibid., vol. XIII, pp. 247-49 with a good facsimilies; N.K. Bhattasali, *Modern Review*, February, 1925, p. 262; A. Benerji, Sastri, ibid., January, 1925, p. 202; N.G. Majumdar, *ABORI*, vol. VII, pts. I & II, pp. 160-63.

[117]op. cit., p. 94.

[118]Allan, op. cit., p. lxxxvii.

[119]*COHI*, p. 105.

[120]The Bodh Gayā inscription only records the donation of the queen of Indrāgnimitra at the sacred centre. It is not suggestive of his rule in that region. Barua, however, took the contrary view. (*IHQ*, p. 13).

[121]*EI*, VIII, pp. 180ff. According to Allan, the reign of these rulers probably covered the first two centuries AD.

[122]Cunningham found these coins in Rohilkhand and chiefly at Ahichatra, Aonla and Badaon (*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 75). Vincent Smith found them common in Eastern Oudh and in the Basti district. (*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 184). Carllyle obtained about a hundred at Bhuila in the Basti district (*JASB*, 1880, p. 21), mostly Agnimitra and Indramitra. Several coins of the Mitra dynasty were found at Pindari about 1 1/3 miles suoth-east of Bhuila Tal (Cunningham, *ASR*, XII, 153). While the Mitra coins are found over a wider

area than Cunningham first stated. There is no doubt that the main source for these is Ahicchatra from which Rivett-Carnac also obtained a considerable number and variety of coins (*JASB*, 1890, pp. 21-28, 87-90).

[123]Rivett-Carnac, *JASB*, 1880, pp. 21-23; Jayaswal, *JBORS*, III, 1917, pp. 476ff; Raychaudhuri, 1923, pp. 211ff; Louis de la Valle Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, pp. 175-76; see also *IHQ*, VIII, pp. 549ff for previous references on the subject. T.P. Bhattacharya also tried to correlate the kings bearing the title—Mitra—whose coins have been found in various parts of northern India. He did not adduce any new piece of evidence but only reshuffled the available data (*JBORS*, XXXV, 1949, pp. 47ff.

[124]*Indian Coins*, p. 13.

[125]Op. cit., vol. III, p. 479.

[126]The Pañcāla rulers whose coins are in the British Museum are: Agnimitra, Bhadraghoṣa, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Dhruvamitra, Indramitra, Jayagupta, Jayamitra. Phalgumitra, Rudragupta, Sūryamitra, Viṣṇumitra and Viśvapāla. To these may be added Bṛhaspatimitra on the basis of his coin in the Lucknow Museum (Allan, op. cit., pp. cx, 41).

[127]*JNSI*, III, p. 79.

[128]Ibid., IV, p. 18.

[129]Allan, op. cit., p. 153.

[130]Ibid., p. cxx.

[131]*JRAS*, 1908, p. 1096; *CHI*, vol. I, p. 526.

[132]According to B.C. Law, the Pañcālas were definitely feudatories to the Śuṅgas (*Memoir ASI*, no. 67, p. 9). It cannot, however, be suggested that during the time of Agnimitra, the state was divided into two parts, each ruled by a separate ruler (Law, op. cit., p. 27). The finding of a coin belonging to Vasusena, identified with Vasumitra, grandson of Puṣyamitra, is supposed to point to the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas over this region (*JNSI*, II, p. 16).

[133]1.1.11; 1.2.51. etc.

[134]Allan, *Catalogue*, op. cit., pp. 148ff.

[135]*JRAS*, 1912, p. 120. *Jñaputaye rājabhāryāye Bṛhaspatimitra (dhi) tu vasa matye karitam.*

[136]*EI*, II, p. 243; *Luder's List*, no. 904.

[137]Op. cit., p. xcvi. Apart from the striking differences in the fabric and type, the letters show sings of early character, as for example, the form of *m*; *s* and *t* in the two. The epigraphy of the former is still, roughly speaking, Aśokan, while that of the latter is Śuṅga.

[138]*CHI*, I, p. 525.

[139]Barua proposed that in the absence of any honorific title, the word *udaka* might be just a place name. (*IHQ*, 1930, p. 23).

[140]Allan, op. cit., p. xcviii.

[141]Allan fixes the chronology of the Kauśāmbī coins on the basis of style and palaeography. He places Aśvaghoṣa (no. 17) and Parvata (nos. 16-16a) as the earliest rulers of Kauśāmbī. The coins of Bṛhaspatimitra

II, Agnimitra and Jayeṣṭhamitra form the next group, and are closely related. They may be dated from the end of the second to the first century BC. Another ruler Dhanadeva was the last in the Kauśāmbī group, and he is placed in the first century AD (op. cit., pp. xcvii-xcviii).

142This Varuṇamitra of the coins is considered to be identical with Cotiputra Varuṇamitra of the Kauśāmbī inscription of his son whose name is lost. Ghosh, *IC*, I, pp. 694.95.

143*EI*, VIII, pp. 171-72. For the coins of Aśvaghoṣa, see *JNSI*, p. 14; *JBORS*, XX. p. cx.

144See, Kosam Bodhisattva inscription of the year 2. *EI*, XXIV, pp. 210-12; Sārnāth Bodhisattva inscription of the year 3, *EI*, VIII, pp. 196ff.

145Ailan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, op. cit., pp. cviii, 170ff.

146Lūders, *Mathurā Ins.*, ed. K.L. Janert, 1961, pp. 158-60.

147Ibid., p. 207. It is as well proposed by Lūders (ibid.) and N.G. Majumdar (*IHQ*, II, pp. 445-46) that this Viṣṇumitra is identical with his namesake whose coin was found in Rohilkhand. (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 84, pl. VII.21).

148Luders, op. cit., p. 212.

149Ref. T. Bloch, *ASI*, An. Rep., 1908-9, p. 147; Rapson, *CHI*, vol. I, p. 526

150*CHI*, vol. I, p. 527.

151*Catalogue*, p. cxiii.

152Tarn has referred to the suzerainty of Menander over Mathura (op. cit., pp. 227, 259). He mentions the discovery of Menander's coins in mint condition from Mathurā. Powell-Price also held that the Greeks under Menander and his successors exercised their suzerainty over Mathurā upto 100 BC (*JUPHS*, XVI, pp. 225-24).

153Ref. the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription (*CII* II (1), pp. 30ff.), the Amohini Tablet Inscription (*EI*, II, p. 199, no. 2) and the Jail Mound Inscriptions (*ASR*, III, p. 30). The Mora wall Inscription (*Luder's List*, no. 113, p. 154) clearly proves that Śoḍāsa was the son of Rājuvula—only the title, however, figures in the record. His name is mutilated. This is also confirmed by their coins. Those of Rājuvula have been found in the region from the Sultanpur district upto Nur Mahal in the Jalandhar doab, and from Padhan between Etah and Shikohabad, and Sankisa in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh. (Allan, op. cit., pcxv), According to Marshall, stratification of finds at Taxila suggest that this ruler belonged to the beginning of the Christian era. (*ASI*, An. Rep., 1914-15, p. 27).

154The Śaka conquest of Mathurā may be dated in the last quarter of the first century AD (*COHI*, p. 105). Patañjali refers to the Śakas and Yavanas living in Aryan settlements, though outside Āryāvarta. D.R. Bhandarkar had earlier proposed that the Śakas, like the Yavanas, had established their power, if not in Āryāvarta proper, then certainly in north-west India by that time. (*IC*, I, p. 275).

155Op. cit., p. cxvi.

156Rapson, op.cit., p. 527.

157*COHI*, pp. 268ff.

158Ibid., p. 269.

159Cowell and Neill, op, cit., p. 434.

160This late work (*c.* AD 800) does not mention Puşyamitra by name. It records the atrocities of a king named Gomin or Gominmukhya destroying the religion of the Buddha, and killing the monks of good conduct, who would die in the North being killed by the fall of a mountain rock. (Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 19).

161*IHQ*, XXII, pp. 82ff.

162Op. cit,, p. 177.

163Ibid.; p. 167.

164*L'Legende de Emperor Asoka*, p. 167.

165Tarn, op. cit., p. 216.

166Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of the Greeks etc. in the British Museum*, Gardner, pl. VII.25.

167This date is suggested by Tarn. He proposed that in about seven years, Eucratides had disposed of atleast four Euthydemid kings. It must be looked as though he would exterminate the race altogether, which may have been his intention; to him they were just rebels. (Op. cit., p. 216).

168*Luder's List*. no. 669.

169*CHI*, p. 559.

170*CII*, II(1), pp. 23ff.

171This question of dating the initial year of the old era received the attention of several scholars. Sten Konow worked it out on the basis of intercalary months mentioned in some records, and kept on changing his views on this point (*JIH*, XII, p. 25; *CII* II (1), p. lxxv), and in *Vogel's Volume*, Lohuizen-de Leeuw, noting the changes in Konow's views, suggested 136 BC as the initial year of this era. (*The Scythian Period*, pp. 18ff). For other views on this subject, see *Comprehensive History of India*, pp. 195-96).

172IV.1.178. The two are also mentioned together in the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā, XXXII.7) and the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, (XIV.25; XVI.20).

173*EI*, VIII, pp. 36ff.

174According to Cunningham, the Yaudhaya coins were found all over the country (i.e. the Punjab as far as Delhi and Ludhiana). (*ASR*, XIV, p. 140). These were also found plentifully in the country to the westward of Jamunā (*ASR*, II, p. 14) in Depalpur, Satgarba, Sirsa, Hansi, Panipat and Sonepat (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 205).

175*Catalogue*, op. cit., pp. cliii.

176XIV.25; *IA*, XXII, p. 173.

177Allan, ibid , p, lxxxiiff.

178Ibid., p. lxxxiii; pp. 122ff; cf Bela Lahiri, 'Typology of the Tribal. Coins', *Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India*, Vārāṇasī, 1977, pp. 29ff.

179*COHI*, p. 135.

180Allan, op. cit., pp. ciff; 159ff.

181Ibid., p. cii; K.P. Jayaswal supposed it to be an official title, taking the coins to be anonymous (*Hindu Polity*, p. 82n). This is not acceptable since the word for king occurs not once but thrice in it. (Allan, ibid).

[182]Cunningham, *Coins*, p. 71.

[183]*COHI*, p. 110.

[184]Allan, op. cit., p. cxxxix; *COHI*, p. 111.

[185]*Kāṇvāyanāms tato bhṛtyāḥ Suśarmanaḥ tam Śuṅgānām caiva yaśeṣānam kṣapitvā tu baliyasah Sisukhondraḥ sajktiyah prāpsyatinām vasundharani traya-vimśat samā rāiā Simūkās tu bhaviṣyati.* Pargiter, *DKA*, pp. 38, 71.

[186]Sukhtankar and Raychaudhuri question Andhra affinities of the Sātavāhanas. The latter proposed that the Purāṇas were redacted at a time when the Sātavāhanas were ruling over the Āndhradeśa mistakenly called the Andhras. (*PHAI*, pp. 403ff). But the last three ruled not only Āndhradeśa but also parts of Western Deccan. (*COHI*, p. 298n). The original home of the Andhras has been a subject of disputation among scholars. Srinivas Aiyangar suggested (*IA*, 1913, pp. 276ff) that the Andhras were associated with the Telgu country only at a later date, as they are assigned to the Vindhya region in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, in the inscriptions of Aśoka, as well as in the *Harṣacarita*. The finds of the early Andhra coins in the western part of India, and a reference to them in the inscription of Khāravela point to their rule in the southwest, rather than in the Andhra region. Sukhtankar, editing an inscription of Siri-Pulumāvi, king of the Sātavāhanas, identified a place called Sātavāhanāhāra with one of the same name occurring in the Hira-Hidagalli copperplate inscription, though in a slightly altered form. (*EI*, XIV, p. 153). Raychaudhuri further suggested that the Andhra was probably meant for the Sātavāhana kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions, and remained a purely Andhra power, governing the territory at the north of the river Krishna (op. cit.). Barnett located the original home of the Andhras in the Telingana district along the eastern coast between the deltas of the rivers Godavari and Krishna together with as much of the Circars as they could hold against the rival kingdom of Kaliṅga in the north (*CHI*, p. 599). It appears probably that the exact limit of their territory probably varied from time to time and so also their capital. According to Gopalachari, the evidences are not conflicting but complimentary. Andhra is the tribal name, Sātavāhana the dynastic name, and Satakani (Sātakarni, the surname) (*COHI*, p. 298).

[187]*COHI*, p. 295. According to Bose, the beginning of the Andhra rule may be fixed near about 230 BC which would be the time of Simukha, making Andhras, the contemporaries of the later Mauryas, the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas. In suggesting this early date he doubted the truth of the evidence from the Purāṇas relating to the murder of the last Kāṇva ruler by the first Andhra king which took place in *c.* 28 BC.

[188]Op. cit.

[189]*Luder's List.*

[190]*EI*, II, p. 88.

[191]Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 49.

[192]*PHAI*, op. cit., p. 272.

[193]*ASI.* An. Rep., 1915-16, p. 16.

Chapter 3

Geographical Information

The Geographical information from the *Mahābhāṣya* may not be as exhaustive as we find in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, it is nevertheless copious enough to give a general idea of the country and its people as known to Patañjali. The Bhāṣyakāra mostly refers to places in the Āryāvarta, with its well-defined boundaries, but he does not seem to be ignorant of the settlements of the Yavanas,[1] the Janapadas of the north-west—those of Gandhāra, Kamboja and Kaśmīra, the kingdoms in the south of the Colas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas, and the more familiar ones in the east—Aṅga, Magadha, Kaliṅga and Prāgdeśa. The land of the Pañcanadas, Sindhu, Sauvīra, and Saurāṣṭra are also mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*.[2] He verifies a good many names mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha,[3] and also adduces additional details wherever necessary. The *Cāturārthika* Sūtras—IV.2.67-70 of Pāṇini which explain the significance of names of places where a thing was found, or the place itself was founded by such and such a person or community, or if it was the dwelling place of such and such a person, and lastly the location of the place as nearer to a known object, are considered by Patañjali. He does not comment in detail on the *Nivāsa* and *Abhijana* Sūtras[4] formulated by Pāṇini which suggest that the first word in construction should signify a dwelling place, or where some one's ancestors lived; certain other Sūtras of Pāṇini (IV.2.130-45) mentioning geographical names also did not engage his attention. This deficiency is partly made up by the Bhāṣyakāra's reference to the ethnic distribution of particular areas under the *Viṣayasūtra* (Viṣayodeśe)[5], and by preserving the broad division of the Janapadas[6] as suggested by Pāṇini—namely, Janapadas under monarchy (*ekarāja*) and tribes organized as *āyuddhajīvī saṃgha*. In this connection, the classification of place names based on linguistic principles, earlier made by Pāṇini, is retained by Patañjali.

Conception of the Country

Patañjali, no doubt, refers to the Udīcya and Prācya divisions of the country with a number of Janapadas associated with those parts, but he is more particular about Āryāvarta, the land of the Śiṣṭhas. Its boundaries, as given by him, cover the region south of the Himalayas, east of Ādarśa, and west of Kālakavana.[7] The southern limit, Pāriyātra,[8] according to earlier investigations,[9] is the western part of the Vindhya range extending from the source of the Chambal to the Gulf of Cambay, but R.G. Bhandarkar took[10] it to be that protion of the Vindhyan range from which the rivers Chambal and Betwa take their rise. The Bhāṣyakāras definition of its eastern and western limits meets with some difference in the Smṛtis of Manu, Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana. Ādarśa, the western limit is supposed to be identical with Ādarśana or Vināsana which the *Kāśikā* takes[11] in the sense of a Janapada. Vasiṣṭha has referred[12] to the limits of Āryāvarta both according to his views and that of others. He confines it to the east of the region where the river Sarasvatī disappears, the west of the Black forest (Kālakavana), to the north of Pāripātra, and to the south of the Himalayas. Bühler has compared[13] the boundaries of Āryāvarta, as suggested by the Smṛtikāra with those mentioned by Patañjali.

But Patañjali's Geographical vision extends much beyond Āryāvarta—both in the west and in the east. References to far off places in the north-west, such as Balkh (Bāhlāyana)[14], Kamboja[15], Kaśmīra[16] and Gandhāra[17], Aṅga, Vaṅga[18] and Kaliṅga[19] in the east and Pāṇḍya, Coḍa, Kaḍera and Kerala[20] in the south—not traced in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are suggestive of his broader perspective. Western India was also known to him, as he refers to Sindhu and Sauvira.[21] The Bhāṣyakāra might not have visited places at considerable distance from his native place. Particular mention might be made of the term *sarasi*[22] a term used by him to denote lakes in the Deccan. He has not, however, referred to the shape of the country and its colour.

Physical Geography

The study of this aspect of geography is confined to mountains, rivers and forests. There are many references[23] in the *Mahābhāṣya* to Himavat Parvat. One also finds his

comment on the glacier Himānī[24] and the melting of snow (*himaśratha*),[25] noticed earlier by Pāṇini[26] as well. The Bhāṣyakāra also refers to a low land in the sense of a valley (*upatyakā*) and a table land (*adhiyakā*)[27] in different comments. The mountains, besides Himavat, traced in the *Mahābhāṣya*, are Pāriyātra[28] and Krauñca.[29] The former is mentioned as indicative of the southern boundary of Āryāvarta. The context in which Krauñca figures in the *Mahābhāṣya*, shows that it is used for a bird (*pakṣî*)—the son of a curlew after the affix *an* in forming the patronymic from *krauñca.* The formations of the names of the mountains are not noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*, nor is the important Sūtra (IV3.91), referring to the settlements of the hill tribe commented upon by Patañjali.

The Bhāṣyakāra does not refer to many forests. There are references only to *Khāṇḍava*[30] and *Bailvavana*[31] which are not noticed by Pāṇini. The former, according to the *Mahābhārata*[32] was situated on a river called Aśvarathā, while the *Padma Purāṇa*[33] locates it near the banks of Yamunā with *Indraprastha* as part of it.

Rivers

The rivers of the extreme north-west part of ancient India including Afghanistan are not noticed by Patañjali, as for example he does not mention the river Suvāstu mentioned earlier by Pāṇini.[34] In his comment on the Sūtra *Orañ*, illustrating the use of the affix *añ* after a stem ending in *ū* or *ū* in the sense of *Cāturārthiaka* Sūtras, the Bhāṣyakāra mentions by way illustration, Maśakāvatī and Udumbarāvatī[35], Ikṣumatī and Drumatī. Maśakavatī seems to have given name to Massaga or Massaka, flowing past that city with its war like people who had a rough deal from Alexander. Dey identified[36] it with *Mazaga* or Massanagar, twenty-four miles from Bajaur on the river Swat in the Yusufzai country. Earlier Rennel had identified[37] it with the Massaga of Alexander's historians. The *Kāśikā* mentions[38] this river along with Udumbaravatī, in comment on the Sūtra *nadyām matup*, which enjoins the adding of the affix *matup* (*mat* and *vat*) when the name of a river is to be designated by something found near it. Udumbara was associated with the Audumbaras—whose coins have been found in the Kangra district.[39] It may be identified with a small

tributary joining the river Beas near Gurdaspur.[40] Ikṣumatī is noted for the sugar canes grown near its bank. It has been identified with a tributary of the Ganges, referred to as Oxymagis by Arrian and Oxymetis by Megasthenes.[41] It is now known as Ikhan (also Kālindī) flowing through the Farrukhabad district.[42] The last in the series Drumatī cannot be identified.

Patañjali refers to *Pañcananda* which is to be taken in the sense of the country of five revers (*pañcānām nadīnām samāhāraḥ pañcanadam*),[43] but he mentions only *Śutudrī*,[44] a tributary of the river Indus (Sindhu)[45] along with Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī. Other rivers noticed by Bhāṣyakāra are Ikṣumatī and Drumati,[46] Yavamati,[47] Dāvikā,[48] Gomatī[49] and Rathaspā.[50] Ikṣumatī is noted for sugarcane plants growing near its bed. Dey identified[51] it with the river Kālī. Dāvikā is mentioned earlier by Pāṇini, and Patañjali associates a particular kind of rice growing near its bank. It was called *Dāvikā kūlaḥ sālavah.*[52] It was identified with Pargiter[53] with the river Deeg, a tributary of the Rāvī on its right bank, but according to B.C. Law[54] citing *Viṣṇudharmottara* (I.161.15) and *Nīlamata Purāṇas*, this river flowed through the Mādra country. Rathaspā is mentioned earlier in the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*[55] and in the Ādi Parva of the *Mahābhārata.*[56] It is one of the seven sacred rivers between the Sarasvatī and Gaṇḍakī, and is identified by Dey[57] with the river Rāptī in Avadha. Gomatī might be that tributary of the river Ganges which passes through Lucknow.

Political Geography

Patañjali seems to be more exhaustive than Pāṇini, in his reference to the political divisions and the list of the Janapadas. He refers to kingdoms in the north-west, and those in the south. The latter do not figure in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* The Janapadas were homogeneous political, cultural and geographical units, known from early times. Many such Janapadas mentioned in early Buddhist work, and existing in the time of the Buddha continue to figure in this period. Politically some of these lost their existence, as for example the Bhāṣyakāra refers to Kāśī and Kośala besides Magadha as Janapadas in the Āryāvarta, but these must have formed part of the Śuṅga empire. The reference, therefore, is to their geographical importance. We

propose considering these Janapadas in order of their location from north to east, and then those in the south.

Kambuja: This Janapada, in the extreme north-west is referred to both by Pāṇini[58] and Patañjali.[59] The term is applied to the king of the country as well to the Kṣatriya tribe settled in that Janapada. As a people, the Kambojas are mentioned by Yāska in his *Nirukta.*[60] Their connection with the Mādras, probably the Uttara Mādras, is speculated from the reference to Kamboja Aupamanyaya, pupil of Madragāra.[61] The location of this Janapada and its capital has been a subject of speculation. Ray Chaudhuri suggested[62] that the Kamboja Janapada lay in the region of Rajauri or Rajapur with its boundary extending as far as Kafiristan in the west. The *Mahābhārata* mentions[63] a place called Rājapura as the home of the Kambojas.

Kaśmīra: Its existence as a separate political unit is evident from the *Mahābhāṣya*[64] mentioning the queen of Kāśmīra (*Kaśmīra rājñī*). Its exact boundaries cannot be defined which seem to have varied in different periods. According to a Jātaka,[65] it was included in the kingdom of Gandhāra.

Gandhāra: Patañjali mentions Gāndhāra,[66] and not the other form Gaṇadhāra. The people of this region Gāndhāra, are mentioned even in the period of the *Ṛgveda*.[67] According to Zimmer, their settlement was on the south bank of the Kubhā upto its confluence with the Indus, and to a certain extent to the east of the Indus itself.[68] Pāṇini mentions the Vedic form Gāndhāra as the name of the Janapada and its people.[69] There is no reference to its capital Takṣaśilā.

Kekaya. The word Kaikeya[70] suggests the people of the Kekaya Janapada. They were famous during the period of the Epics, and their territory, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[71] lay beyond the river Vidiśā (Beas), and extended upto the borders of ancient Gāndhāra.

Sālva: This Janapada was both ancient and vast.[72] Its people are mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[73] A later reference from the *Mahābhārata*[74] suggests their association with the Kuru-Pañcālas on the banks of the Yamunā. Pāṇini mentions Sālva (VI.2.135), Sālveya (IV.1.169) and Sālvavāyava (IV.1.173) as three distinct Janapada units of a monarchical character. The latter two must have been bifurcated from the parent one which

alone Patañjali mentions. The *Kāśikā*[75] includes the Udumbaras and the Bodhas, referred to by Patañjali and belonging to the Kṣatriya *gotra*, in the Sālva group. According to Pargiter,[76] the Sālveyas, originally connected with the Sālvas, are to be placed to the west of the Aravali hills.

Udumbara and Bodha: Both are mentioned together by Patañjali.[77] The former can easily be identified with the Audumbaras whose coins, found in the Kangra and Hoshiarpur districts, settle their territory.[78] Udumbarāvatī is mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra[79] which seems to have flowed through their country, and hence was so named. The Bodha country might have been somewhere in east Punjab adjoining that of the Udumbara.

Darvya: This term is also suggestive of the king as well as of the son of the country Darvya.[80] It is compounded with Abhisāra in the *Mahābhārata*[81], and according to Aurel Stein,[82] included the tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Jhelum and the Chenab. According to some scholars, it roughly corresponded to the Punch and Naoshera districts.[83] Pargiter associated[84] them with the Trigartas and Daradas and other tribes in the north-east Punjab.

Vasata: Patañjali mentions[85] this Janapada in close association with Gāndhāra and Śivi, thereby suggesting its contiguity to these two states. The *Mahābhārata*[86] refers to the king of Vasatis who was killed by Abhimanyu. McCrindle on the authority of Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* placed it between the Indus and the Jhelum.[87]

Sindhu-Sauvîra: These two are generally associated together. Sindhu is the name of the famous river Indus, and it is also the appellation of a political unit.[88] Earlier, it was also the name of the satrapy of the Achaemenian emperor Darius.[89] It comprised the upper Indus. Sauvīra is mentioned by Pāṇini.[90] According to Rapson,[91] the two parts of the compound are often used separately, as names having nearly the same meaning, representing the modern province of Sindh.

Vāhîka: It is distinguished by Patañjali from Vāhīkagrāma,[92] through the latter is included in the Vāhīka country. It may be identified with Bāhīka, referred to in earlier literature,[93] denoting the people of Punjab and the Indus. The Bāhīkas, synonymous with Vāhīkas, were different from the

Vāhlikas or Vālhīkas, and according to the Karṇaparva of the *Mahābhārata*[94] they lived between the Sutlej and the Indus, with their capital at Śākala. Patañjali mentions Śākala as a Vāhīka-grāma.[95]

Mādra: This Janapada, according to the *Mahābhārata*,[96] was included in the Vāhīka country with its territory centring round Śākala or Sialkot, and the surrounding region between the Rāvī and the Chenab[97] or between the Jhelum and the Rāvī.[98] They seem to have occupied the central portion of the Punjab. The Mādras were an ancient Kṣatriya tribe and were associated with the Yaudheyas, as is evident from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.[99] Unfortunately their coins have not been found so far.

Uṣînara: The country of the Uśīnara formed part of the Vāhīkadeśa.[100] It is mentioned earlier by Pāṇini.[101] Regarded as northerners, they are placed in the north west, but there is no reason to shift them farther west than the middle country.[102]

Śibi: The Śibi country, called Śaivaḥ in the *Mahābhāṣya*,[103] was a fairly old Janapada. Its people are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*[104] along with other minor tribes, and are noticed by Pāṇini[105] and also by Alexander's historians.[106] The latter locates these people between the Indus and the Akesines. According to Vogel, Śibipur mentioned in a Shorkot inscription must be the site of their capital.[107]

Ambaṣṭha: It is mentioned earlier by Pāṇani,[108] Patañjali mentions it[109] with reference to the Sūtra IV.1.70 as the name of a Janapada under a monarchical government. As a tribe, the Ambaṣṭhas can be traced in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.[110] They figure in the *Mahābhāraṭa*[111] along with the Śivis, Kṣudrakas and Mālavikas who sided with the Kurus. Their position in the social scheme need not be considered here. They are identical with the Abastanoi, Sambastai, Sabaracae or Sabagrae of Alexander's historians[112] with their territory in the lower Akesines (Asiknī) river.

Trigatra: This term[113] means the land watered by the three rivers, very probably the rivers Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. Their country had formed an *Āyuddha-jīvī Samgha* or a confederation of six states—known as *Trigarta-ṣaṣṭha*, according to Pāṇini.[114] and they were living mainly on arms. They are mentioned as allies of the Kurus in the *Māhābhārata*,[115] but

ultimately paying homage to Yudhiṣṭhira. According to the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*,[116] the Trigarta country is identified with Jalandhara (*Jaḷandharas-Trigarttah-syuḥ*) but it is brought in close proximity with Kaśmīra in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[117] Considered as a mountain tribe in the Purāṇas,[118] Cunningham identified[119] their country with the Kangra valley, situated near Jalandhar between the mountains of Chamba and the upper course of the Beas. It may be located between the Ravi and the Sutlej with its capital near Jalandhar.

Pāraskara: Patañjali treats it as a country (*Pāraskara-deśa*)[120] and it might correspond with Thara Parakara, one of the biggest districts in Sindh.[121]

Brāhmaṇaka: It is also called a Janapada by the Bhāṣyakāra (*Brāhmaṇako nāma Janapadaḥ*).[122] It might as well be the name of a tribe corresponding to the Brachmanoi of Arrian.[123] Their country is distinguished by Patañjali with that of the *Vṛṣalas* (*Vṛṣaladeśa*)[124] the latter probably indicating the country of the Sodrai, mentioned by the Greek historians.[125] Cunningham[126] identified the country of the Brāhmaṇaka with Brahmanabad in Sindh.

Jihnava: Patañjali mentions it as a Janapada (*Jihnavo nāma janapadaḥ*)[127] along with the Ikṣvāka one in the same reference. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* mentions[1/8] Ikṣvāku as a warrior tribe. The identification of the former is uncertain while the latter is considered to be the same as Kośala.[129]

Janapadas of the Āryāvatra: Āryāvarta, the land of the elite Brāhmaṇas, the centre of activity—political and religious, engaged the special attention of the Bhāṣyakāra. He refers to a number of kingdoms in this part of Bhāratavarṣa. The Kuru,[130] Pañcāla[131] (Uttara and Pūrva), Kośala and Kāśī[132] have past history and their location is settled. The Kuru country extended from Kurukṣetra upto the river Gaṅgā with its capital at Hastināpura mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*.[133] The Pañcālas, divided into the north and the eastern ones, date back to Vedic times.[134] The story of the division of the kingdom is given in the *Mahābhārata*.[135] The south Pañcāla included the territory to the east and south-east of the Kurus and the Śūrasenas, while the north one comprised the districts lying east of the river Gaṅgā and north-west of Avadha.[136]

According to Cunningham,[137] the extent of the great kingdom of Pañcāla was confined within the Himalaya and the river Chambal. The Bhāṣyakāra does not mention their respective capitals, but he does mention Ahicchatra[138] along with Kānyakubja, and Sāṅkiśa which was at a distance of four *yojanas* from Gavidhumata[139]—identified with Kudarkot in the Etah district of the Uttara Pradesh.[140]

Kośala and Kāśi mentioned by Pāṇini[141] are also mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The capital of the former, Sāketa is mentioned by Patañjali.[142] He also refers to Vārāṇasī, as capital of Kāśī which was situated on the river Gaṅgā (*anugangam vārāṇase*).[143]

Magadha is mentioned as a monarchical state (*Magadhānām Rājan*).[144] It included the territory to the south of the Gaṅgā, corresponding to modern south Bihar with Pāṭaliputra as its capital, situated on the river Son (*anuśoṇam Pāṭaliputram*).[145]

Videha[146] *and Vṛji*:[147] Patañjali mentions them separately although in earlier times the two were politically knit together.[148] The Vṛjis, like the Kurus, had the government of a family (*Kuru gārhapatam Vṛji gārhapatam*), but the Videhans are mentioned separately in the list of Kṣatriyas.

Aṅga and Vaṅga:[149] These two are bracketed together. The former was well-known as a small Janapada with its capital at Champa, comprising the present districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr.[150] Vaṅga corresponds to western and central Bengal, and, according to Pargiter,[151] it must have comprised the modern districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, parts of Rajashahi, Pabna and Faridkot.

Puṇḍra and Suhma: Patañjali associates[152] the two with the Vaṅga Janapada. The Puṇḍras alone are mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[153] and in the Sūtras.[154] The reference to the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* in the Damodarpur copperplate inscriptions[155] has facilitated its location. As regards, Suṃha, Dey,[156] citing Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata*, identified it with Rādhā, comprising the districts of Hoogly and Burdwan.

Kaliṅga:[157] Cunningham defined[158] its position as lying between Godavarī in the south-west and the Gaoliya branch of the Irāvatī river in the north-west. Rapson placed[159] this Janapada between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī. The *Mahābhārata*[160] includes Orissa in it, with the northern boundary or

this Janapada extending as far as Vaitaraṇī. In the Purāṇas Utkala or Orissa forms a separate unit.[161]

Prāgdeśa: There is a reference[162] to this Janapada. It seems identical with Prāgjyotiṣa which figures prominently in ancient Indian literature.[163] It may be identified with the whole of Assam proper along with north Bengal as far as Rangpur and Cooch Behar.[164]

Avanti Kuntī: The two are associated together by the Bhāṣyakāra.[165] The former represented the country of which Ujjain was the capital. Kuntī was probably a neighbouring Janapada. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[166]

Surāṣṭra: According to the Kāśikā,[167] Kuntī and Surāṣṭra were in close proximity to each other. Pāṇini also refers to the compound name Kuntī-Surāṣṭra.[168] Surāṣtra corresponds with the *syrastrene* of Ptolemy, and is identified with the Peninsula of Kathiawar or Gujarat.[169] This Janapada was definitely outside Āryāvarta.

Vidarbha: It was an important kingdom in that period with a past history,[170] which subsequently acknowledged the suzerainty of Agnimitra. The *Mahābhārata*[171] describes it as an ancient and renowned kingdom in the Deccan with Kuṇḍina (*Kauṇḍinyapura* –modern Amraoti) on the banks of the Varadā as its capital. According to Pargiter,[172] it comprised the valley of the Payoshinī, modern Purna and the middle portion of Tāptī, and corresponded to the western part of Berar and the valley country west of that. Cunningham included[173] Bhopal and Bhilsa to the north of the Narmada in this kingdom.

Southern Janapadas: Patañjali seems to be in the know of kingdoms in the south which were in existence in the time of Aśoka. These include Coda, Kaḍera, Kerala,[174] and Pāṇḍya.[175] Coḍa, or Cola, corresponding to Coromandal coast, was bounded in the north by the river Pennar, in the south by Panākinī river, to the west by Coorg and included the territory of Tanjore from Nellore to Pudukotta.[176] The Keralas were on the Malabar coast, comprising, besides Malabar, Travancore and Kanara terminating at Cape Comorin in the south.[177] The Pāṇḍyas occupied the Tinnevelly and Madura districts.[178] The location of the Kaḍeras in doubtful, though their association with the other kingdoms in the south can hardly be denied.

Besides these Janapadas, a few other names are also mentioned by Patañjali, some of which could be identified. These include Daśārṇa[179]—not specified as a Janapada. It is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Purāṇas[180], and is grouped with the Mālavas, Utkalas and Mekhalas in the Vindhyan tract. Its capital was Vidiśā (modern Bhilsa) on the Vetravatī (Betwa) according to Kālidāsa.[181]

Towns and Villages

The Bhāṣyakāra also refers to big cities (*nagara*), villages (*grāma*) and stations of herdsmen (*ghoṣa*). He also refers to bigger village units—like the Vāhīkagrāma and *Udīcya-grāma*.[182] These might be bigger geographical units. The place-endings of names of cities and villages, as one finds in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyî*, are not traced in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Only a few important towns figure in his work—the most important ones being--Takṣaśilā,[183] Mathurā,[184] Pāṭaliputra,[185] Sānkāśya,[186] Sāketa,[187] Vārāṇasī,[188] Kauśāmbī,[189] Hastināpura,[190] Gavidhu mata,[191] Ahicchatra and Kānyakubja.[192] Cities of western India noticed by him include Ujjayinī, Māhiṣmati,[193] Nāsikya[194] and Kāñcīpura in the south.[195] A few unidentified places include Alambuśa,[196] Saurya[197] and Aṣṭaka.[198]

It is really difficult to identify the villages mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra. These included Ārata, Kastīre, Dāśarūpya. Saušika,[199] Pātānapraṣtha, Nāndīpura, Kaukkuḍivāha.[200] Those in the north (*udīcyagrāma*) included—Canārarūpya, Māṇirūpya, Śivapura, Vāḍavakarśīya, Nīlinaka and Aulāka.[201] The endings of place names were based on usage and custom. Commenting on the distinction between the terms *grāma* and *pura*, Patañjali suggests that these should not be settled by rules of grammar but by local usage (*tatrāti nirbandho na lābhaḥ*).[202] He also mentions a few unattached villages like Ketavata[203] and Tiśrīka,[204] while in some cases he gives additional details like Nāndīpura as a Vāhīkagrāma.[205] or Ikṣumatī both eastern and western (*pūrva, apāra*),[206] People coming from the same village were known to each other as *samānagrāmika*.

Patañjali sometimes refers to distances and directions as any one with a fair knowledge of geography would do. In the case of distance from Ujjayinī to Māhiṣmatī he refers to the speed in covering it (*Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣyamatyām sūrvodga-*

manam sambhavāyate sūryam udgamayati).

A study of the geographical data from the *Mahābhāṣya*, is indicative of Patañjali's familiarity with Āryāvarta. The Janapadas mentioned by him are mostly those located in the north. He also mentions a few important ones from the south and those in western and eastern India. The Bhāṣyakāra also notices a few cities and some villages including those in the Vāhīkadeśa. His work may not be as comprehensive as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, it is nevertheless a fruitful source of study for the geographical information conveyed by it.

References

[1]II.4.10, pp. 4-5. The Yavana country is aslo menticned in the Vārttika on Pāṇini, IV.1.175. It is difficult to determine the exact situation of the Yavana country (Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 26; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 4th edn., p. 253). It appears that it (the Yavana) had never a uniform country. The Pre-Alexander (better Ionian) colony was also a Yavana colony. In Patañjali's time the Yavanas had come closer to the land of the Śiṣṭhas. Living in Aryan villages and hamlets outside Āryāvarta, they were not ostracized and they enjoyed the priviledge of using a plate without polluting it; (Kielhorn, ed., I; p. 475). The Yavanas are mentioned in Aśokan inscriptions. (*RE*, XIII).

[2]This evidently shows that Patañjali's geographical horizon was not necessarily confined to mid-India—the land of the elite Brahmins, in whom he was definitely interested. These would be considered with fuller references later on in this chapter.

[3]The value of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* as a supplement to the information from Pāṇini's work is evinced from the following stray pieces of evidence. The Bhāṣyakāra provides the full list of the member states in the Sālva Janapada (IV.1.168, p. 269), the names of Janapadas referred to under IV.1.172—which points to the use of affix *ṇya* after the word 'kuru' and a word beginning with *ṇa*, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kṣatriya tribe also. (Kielhorn, II, p. 269). He also provides the correct reading of the five names in the Rājanyādi group—Vasati, Devayāta, Bailavavana, Amdarīṣaputra, and Ātmakameya. (IV.2.52, p. 282)

[4]IV.3.89-90, p. 314.

[5]IV.2.52, p. 282.

[6]IV.1.168, pp 268ff.

[7]II.4.10, p. 475. *Prāg-adarśāt pratyak kālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam attavena pārivātram.* The position of Kālakavana is fairly certain. According to Dey, it should be identified with the Rajmahal hills in the province of Bihar (*Geographical Dictionary*, p. 84). According to Chakladhar,

like other points, the one marking the eastern limits of Āryāvarta, would correspond to the eastern point of Manu's Madhyadeśa viz. Prayāg (*IHQ*, IV, p. 93). He identifies Kālakavana with the Kālakārāma of the Buddhist texts (*Aṅg. Nikāya*, II.24) representing the outskirt of Sāketa, and regards the Āryāvarta of Vaeśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana as exactly coterminous with the Madhyadsa of Manu.

[8]According to Pargiter this is the western portion of the modern Vindhya range west of Bhopal (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, trans., p. 286n). Cunningham traced its survival in the Pathar range lying between the rivers Chambal and Banas (*ASR*, VI, p. 1 & map; XIV, p. 151).

[9]*Asiatic Researches*, VIII, p. 338.

[10]*Early History of the Deccan* (collected works).

[11]IV. 2.124, p. 381 (Benares edn.), *Ādarśakaḥ janapādāvadheḥ khavapi*,

[12]I-8.

[13]*SBE*, XIV, p. 2.

[14]IV. 2.99, pp. 292.2.

[15]I.1.1, p. 9.26.

[16]III 2.114, p, 119.9.

[17]IV.2.52, p. 283.13.

[18]IV.1.170, p. 299.16-17.

[19]III 2.115 26.

[20]IV 1.175, p. 270.3.

[21]IV 1.170, p, 299.17.

[22]I 1.19, p. 73.5.

[23]I.1.57, p. 150.23; I.1.72, p. 184.20 etc.

[24]IV.1.49, p. 20.15.

[25]I.1.14, p. 55.66.

[26]IV 149; IV.4.29.

[27]VII.3.45, p. 325.5.

[28]II.4.10, p. 475.3. For a note on it see no. 7.

[29]IV. 1.120, p 258.12; Krauñca also denoted a part of the Himalaya range, situated in the eastern part of the chain to the north of Assam. According to the *Vāvupurāṇa*, it is said to have been split by Kārttikeya (72.47).

[30]VIII.1.4, p. 364.23.

[31]III 1 1, p. 3.13.

[32]Vanaparva, chap. 169, l. 11681.

[33]Uttarakāṇḍa, chap. 64.

[34]IV.2.77.

[35]IV.271, p. 287.15.

[36]*Geographical Dictionary* (henceforth *Dey, GD*). p. 127.

[37]Ibid.

[38]IV.2.85. Other references in the *Kāśikā* are Udumbarāvatī, Virnavatī, Puṣkaravatī, Ikṣumatī and Drumatī.

[39]Cunningham, *CAI*, pp 66-67, The *Harivaṃśa* mentions it (chap. 8.167. 1.9511) along with the rivers of the south.

[40]*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Atlas, vol. XXVI.

[41]McCrindle, *Ancient India in Megasthenes and Arrian*, note on Oxymagis, cf. my *India in Classical Greek Writings*, p. 48n.

[42]Agarwal, *India as Known to Pāṇini* (henceforth Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, 2nd edn., p. 44).

[43]IV.1.88, p. 239.5.6.

[44]1 2 32, p. 209.10.

[45]I.I.1, p. 4.27.29.

[46]IV. 2.71, p. 287.16.

[47]V.2.94,p. 394.6.

[48]VII.3.1, p. 316.4.

[49]I.1 62, p. 161 .13.

[50]VII.1.157, p. 96.17.

[51]*GD*. p. 77.

[52]VII. 3.9, p. 316.4.

[53]*Mārk. Pur.*, (Eng. trans.), p. 92.

[54]*Geographical, Essays*, p. 92.

[55]Caland, *Extrtacts*, p. 204.

[56]Ch. 170, l. 6455.

[57]Op. cit., p. 168. According to V.S. Agrawal, it was a river Pāñcāla and the name may correspond to Rhodopha, mentioned by Greek writers as marking an important stage on the royal road. Although it is called a town, but the mention of the stages generally between two well-known rivers, as Jhelum and Beas, Sutlej and Yamunā suggests its having been the name of a river (Megasthenes, *Frag.*, LVI; quoted, op. cit., p. 47).

[58]IV. 1.175.

[59]1.1.1. p. 9.26.

[60]II.2. Yāska noted the peculiarity of Kamboja speech. According to Kauṭilya the country of the Kambojas was noted for a particular breed of horses. (Trans., p. 148).

[61] *Vedic Index*, I, p. 138.

[62]*PHAI*, (3rd edn), p. 105.

[63]VII. Chap. 4.19. According to Rhys Davids, its capital was Kamboja (*Buddhist India*) which haṣ been identified by Moti Chand with Darwaz in the Pamir-Badakshan region (*JUPHS*, XVI (ii), pp 38-46).

[64]IV.1.1, p. 193.18; Pāṇini's reference—IV.1.178.

[65]No. 406, Another Jātaka, however, denies it (III.365). Kaśmīra's geographical position in the Uttarāpatha remains unassailed. Rājaśekhara places it in that region (*Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 8). It comprised the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi.

[66]IV.2.52, p. 282.10.

[67]I 26.7.

[68]*Vedic Index*, I, p. 219.

[69]IV.1.109.

[70]I 1.57, p. 149.8.

[71]*Mah.*, II.48.13; Cunningham identified the capital of the Kekaya-

deśa with Girjak or Jabalpur on the Jhelum (*Ancient Geography of India*, *AGI*, p. 188). Rājaśekhara places the Kekaya country in the northern division along with the Śakas, Hūṇas, Kambojas, Vāhlikas and others.

[72]Patañjali, IV.2.133, p. 300.10. Sālva is mentioned in pair wtih Matsya, in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (I.29) and also in the *Mahābhārata* (Bhīṣhmaparva, 10.3).

[73]X.4.1.10.

[74]VI, Chap. 9.346.

[75]p. 136. (Patañjali's reference to the *Bodhas*, II. 4.58, p. 489.3).

[76]*JRAS*, 1908, p. 325.

[77]II. 4.58, p. 489.3-4.

[78]Allan, *CAI*, p. xxxiii.

[79]Op. cit.

[80]IV. 1.170, p. 269.17.

[81]VIII. 93.43.

[82]*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, p. 32; II, p. 432.

[83]B.C. Law, *Historical Geography* (*HG*, p. 74).

[84]*Mārk. Pur.*, trans., p. 324; Lassen placed the Dārvas between the Indus and Jhelum in the north-west of Kashmir (Ibid.).

[85]IV. 2.52, p. 282.17.

[86]VII. 49.1934.

[87]*The Invasion of Alexander the Great*, p. 150n. Agrawala identified it with Ossadioi (op. cit., p. 37). Under Rājanyagaṇa, *Vasati*, *Devata*, *Bailavana*, *Ambarīṣapura* and *Ātmakameya* go back to the time of Pāṇini (IV. 2.52); (see also *Mahābhāṣya*, Kielborn, vol. II, p. 282).

[88]VII.1,39, p. 257.2. They are mentioned together in inscriptions (*EI*, VIII, p. 36) and literature (*Mbh.*, VI. 9. l. 361).

[89]*CHI*, p. 334.

[90]IV.1.148. The Sūtrakāra also gives a valuable social history of the region, the home of many *gotras*. He mentions Sarkara or Sarkara (modern Sukkar) as a town (IV.2 83).

[91]*Ancient India*, p. 168. Johnston in a note on 'Demetrius in Sindh' pointed out that it was quite clear from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (II.30, 32-3) that Sindhu and Sauvīra were different countries. They occupied much of the Indus valley from the sea-coast upwards. Their separate and distinctive character is evident from the Junagarh Inscription of Rudradāman. According to a Jātaka (III, p. 280), Roruka or Roruva, identified with modern Rori or Alor was the capital of this Janapada.

[92]IV.2.104, p. 293.20.

[93]*Śata. Brāh.*, I. 7.38; Pāṇini mentions Udīcya towns among the Vāhika country (IV. 2.117). He also mentions the *Vāhīka-Saṃghas* (V. 3.114)—some dominated by Brāhmaṇas as ruling caste (Gopalavas), others by Rājanyas, and called Rājanyas, (IV.2.53).

[94]VIII, chap. 43, p. 20,30.

[95]IV.1.185, p. 236.20.22. They are also equated with Jārttikas and Arattas (Karṇāprava, 44.2032-2033) Pāṇini mentions Vāhīka villages and those situated in Osinara (IV.2.117-8) which, according to Pargiter

were confined to the Punjab (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 119).

[96]VIII, chap. 45.1.2079.

[97]*CHI*, vol. I, p. 549.

[98]Cunningham, *AGI*, 1871, p. 185.

[98]*CII*, III,

[100]II. 4.19. p. 477.15. According to the *Kāśikā* commentary—*Uṣīnareṣu ye vāhīkagrāmaḥ*, p. 320.

[101]II.4.20; IV.2.118.

[102]The *Gopatha Brāḥmaṇa* regards them as northerners (II.1). See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 103.

[103]V. 2.52, p.282.11.

[104]VII. 18.7.

[105]IV. 2.109.

[106]Arrian, *Indika*, V.12.

[107]*EI*, XX, p.16. According to a Jātaka, (Fausboll, IIV, p. 401), Ārittha-pura was the capital of the Śivi kingdom. Ptolemy refers to Aristo-bothra in the north of Punjab. It is identified with Dvārāvatī (Dey, *GD*, p. 11).

[108]VIII 3.97.

[109]p. 267.17.

[110]VII.21.3.

[111]VI, chap. 20, p. 750. They are located in the north-west in this work which describes them as a kingship.

[112]*Invasion of Alexander* (McCrindle), p. 155. Later geographers like Ptolemy, place the probably identical with the Ambaṣṭhas to the east of the country of the Paropamisadai (*Geography*, Sāstri's edn.. pp. 311-2.

[113]VIII.1.15, p. 367.4.

[114]V. 3.116. According to Agrawal, the central position of Trigarta formed by the valley of the Beas was named Kulūta, mentioned twice in the *Gaṇapātha* as Kuluma (IV.2.133; IX.3.93) and known as Kulu.

[115]VI, chap. 123, p. 754.

[116]IV.24.

[117]V.144.

[118]*Mark.*, 57.57; *Matsya*, 114.56.

[119]*ASR*, XIV, p. 116. According to V.S. Agarwal, the central position of Trigarta formed by the valley of the Beas was named Kulūta, mentioned twice in the *Gaṇapātha* as Kuluma (IV.2.133; IV.3.93) and known as Kulu (op. cit., p 55).

[120]VI. 1 157, p. 96.16. It is mentioned in the *gaṇa Pāraskara prabhṛtri* (*Pāṇini*, VI.1.157).

[121]Dey, *GD*, p 149. It once denoted the whole of the south-eastern part of Sindh upto the coast of the Great Raun of Kaccha or Kaccha of Irama.

[122]IV. 2 104, p. 298.21.

[123]*Indika*, VI.16. The significance of the name is brought out by the

Kāśikā describing it as the land of the Brāhmaṇas who were *Āyuddajīvīs*. The Greeks call them Brachmanoi and are located in middle Sind.

[124]I.4.1, p. 301-8.

[125]McCrindle, op. cit., p. 292. This might correspond to Saudrana, included in the Aiṣukārī group in the *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, according to the *Kāśikā*, (p. 305).

[126]Op. cit., Śāstrī ed., p. 691. It is noticed in the *Kāvyamīṃāmsā* as well as *Brāhmanavaḥ Janapada* (p. 94).

[127]IV.2.104, p. 298.12, 14.

[128]V.75.

[129]Agrawala, op. cit., p. 61.

[130]I. 51, p. 336.5.

[131]IV.3.155, p. 324.18-19.

[132]IV.1.64, p. 223.13.

[133]II.1.16, p. 380.

[134]*Vedic Index*, I, p. 468.

[135]Ādiparva, chap. 140. The division was made upon the defeat of Drupada at the hands of Droṇa. According to a Jātaka story the capital of north Pañcāla was founded by a Cheti prince.

[136]Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 167.

[137]*AG* (Śāstri ed) , p. 360.

[138]IV.1.79, p. 233.6.

[139]II.3.28, p. 455.17.

[140]*EI*, I, p. 129.

[141]VI. 1.171.

[142]1.3.35, p. 281.14.

[143]Ibid.

[144]II.1 2, p. 375.8.

[145]I.1.16, p. 380.18.

[146]VI.1.168, p. 268.22.

[147]VI.2.42, p. 126.4.

[148]Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 25. The Licchavīs of Vaiśālī and the Videhans were the most important among the eight confederate clans collectively known as the Vajjins.

[149]IV.1.170, p.269.16-17.

[150]Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 6.

[151]*JASB*, 1895, p. 85.

[152]IV.2.52, p. 282.8.

[153]VII.18.

[154]*Baudhāyana*, I.2.14.

[155]*EI.*, XV, pp 138ff. Pargiter distinguished Puṇḍra from Pauṇḍra, the former comprising the districts of Malda, a portion of Purnea to the east of the river Kosi and parts of Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts (*JASB*, 1895, p. 85). It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, I.4221; II.584) and also by Rājaśekhara (Kav, p. 9).

[156]*GD*, p. 195. This Janapada is mentioned in the Purāṇas (*Kāli*, chap. 14; *Matsya*, chap. 113), and seems to have been named after Sumha, a

son of Bali (*Viṣṇu*, pt. IV, chap. 18).

157III.2.115, p. 120.26.

158*AG*, p. 117.

159*Ancient India*, p. 164.

160III, chap. 114. l.10998.

161*Brāh.*, chap. 43.

162VII.1.96, p. 274.17.

163*Mbh.*, III.1.1887; *Mārk. Pur.*, 57.44; *Rāj.*, IV.171.

164*IC*, III, p. 732.

165The two figure as Janapada names ending in short *i* and implied in Sutra IV.1.171 (See also IV.1.14, p. 206.4).

166The *Mahābhārata* speaks of Kuntī as the region through which the Aśvā Nadi flowed (Vana., chap. 308.7). It is identified as a tributary of the Chambal (Dey, op. cit., p. 109). Agrawal identifies this Janapada with the region of Kontwar in the former Gwalior state (Madhya Pradesh, op. cit., p. 62).

167p 548.

168VI.2.37.

159Dey, op. cit., p. 183. Rājaśekhara mentions it in the list of western countries (Paścāddeśa), p. 94.

170Patañjali. IV.1.68, p. 268.22. The Vidarbhas were an ancient people, and their country is mentioned in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (II.440).

171III, chap. 60.l.2290.

172*Mārk. Pur.*, trans., p. 335n.

173*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 383.

174IV.1.175, p. 270.3-4.

175IV.1.168. p. 269.13. Ref. Aśoka's *Rock Edicts*, nos. II, XIII, for references to these kingdoms.

176Pargiter, op. cit., p. 332; See also *Mahābhārata*. III, 1988; The Cola kingdom (Cola-*maṇḍalam*) had its capital at Urajjur near Trichinopoly.

177Pargiter, ibid,, cf. *Harivaṃśa*, 782, 12838; Kerala or Malabar separated from Tuluna (? = Satiyaputra) by the Chandragiri river, and extending to Cape Comorin, was also known as Chera. Its most ancient capital was Vanji, Vanchi or Karur (Tiru Karur) about 28 miles ENE of Cochin (Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 157n).

178Dey, op. cit., p. 247; cf. *Mahābhārata*, II.1174. Its most ancient capital was the port of Korkai (Smith, op. cit., p. 174n). The three traditional kingdoms were well-known. In the Purāṇas too they are mentioned together (*Mārk.*, 57.45; *Matsya.*, V.46).

179VI.1.89, p. 69.

180*Kiṣkindhyā*, 41.8-10; *Matsya.*, chap. 114.

181*Meghadūta*, I. 23.24; This Daśārṇa might be different from the one mentioned in earlier series. B.C. Law distinguished the two identifying the earlier one with the Dosarene of the *Periplus* (*Ancient Indian Tribes*, p. 375). According to Wilson, eastern or south-eastern Daśārṇa formed part of the Chattisgarh district in the Central Provinces (Madhya

Pradesh), including the old native state of Patna (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II, p. 260).

[182]IV.2.104, p. 293.9.

[183]I.3.10, p. 268.12.

[184]II.4.7, p. 474.

[185]Ibid.

[186]I.3.11, p. 273.13.

[187]I.3.25, p.281.14.

[188]II.1.16, p. 380.18.

[189]II.1.1, p. 371.12.

[190]II.1.16, p. 380.18. It is 22 miles north-east of Meerut and to the south-west of Bijnor on the right bank of Gaṅgā,

[191]II.3.28, p. 456.4. It was 4 *yojanas* from Sāṅkāśya, and is indentified with Kudarkot in the Etah district.

[192]IV.1.79, p. 233.7.

[193]III.1.26, p. 35.10. On the right bank of the Narmada, 40 miles to the south of Indore.

[194]VI.1.63, p. 42 4.

[195]IV.2.104, p. 298.4.

[196]I.1.1, p. 14.14.

[197]I.1.57, p. 150.23.

[198]10.2.104, p. 298.24.

[199]Ibid, p 293.4.

[200]Ibid., p. 298.

[201]Ibid., p. 293.

[202]Kielhorn., III, p. 321.

[203]II.4.7, p. 474.10.

[204]VII.2.99, p. 307.19.

[205]IV.2.104, p. 298.

[206]VI.1.85, p. 62.

Scythic, Indo-Greek and other foreign and Central Asian groups - but strictly confined to Western India and the north west.

Chapter 4

Social Life

Patañjali presents, on the whole, a faithful picture of the contemporary social life of his time. The influx of foreigners, their assimilation into the social scheme, and the relaxation of caste rules owing to mixed unions, did not take the Bhāṣyakāra by surprise. Noticing the unorthodox trend, he probably felt the need to preserve purity in the Brāhmaṇas so that they could justify their high social standing both by birth, and by intellectual eminence. This motive was mainly responsible for his monumental work in which he stresses, in the 'Introduction', the necessity of a good grounding in grammar for the Śiṣṭas. Grammer is the key to learning and enlightenment and, thus, the best preservative of the moral and cultural integrity of the Śiṣṭas, A close study of the *Mahābhāṣya* from the cultural stand point unfolds interesting details about social life: as for example, Division of Society into Groups, Family Life, Food, Household Effects, Dress and Ornaments, Marriage and Position of Women, Pastime and Recreations, Social Evils, Festivals, and other miscellaneous subjects of interest. The inferences drawn from the data may be inconclusive for want of corroboration, except occasionally from the Bhārhut and Sāñcī sculptures but the correctness of the facts derived from this literary work may be accepted. Here it is worthwhile considering the Smṛtis, particularly Manu's, with a view to assessing the position of some social groups, mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Such a sociological study claims priority.

Division of Society

Society was, no doubt, divided into the usual four classes, but mixed marriages, whether among the higher or lower groups, had resulted in the creation of some new castes. A complete list of progeny from such mixed unions is not found in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but some terms used by the Bhāṣyakāra in

this connection are also traced in the *Manusmṛti*, and the *Mahābhārata*. Bright in facial complexion (*gaura*), pure in conduct (*śucyācāra*), of a reddish brown colour (*piṅgala*) and with red hair, possibly dyed (*kapilakeśa*),[1] the Brāhmaṇas were noted for the qualities which befitted them to perform suitable *karmas* (*tapaḥ śrutām ca yoniś cety-etad Brāhmaṇa-karakam.*)[2] Taking food while walking (*gacchān bhākṣyati*), and voiding in a standing posture were undignified actions for them (*a-Brāhmaṇo vam vas tishthan mutrayati*).[3] In the social organism, they occupied the foremost place (*loke miṣam Brāhmaṇam pūrvam ānayeti vaḥ sarva purvāh sa ānivate*).[4] Where a Brāhmaṇa failed in his literary and spiritual attainments, birth alone entitled him a place in his social group (*tapaḥśrutābhyām yo hîno jātibrāhmaṇa eva saḥ*).[5] Such persons had degraded themselves by adopting low professions, as for instance, the Brāhmaṇas cleaving wood (*kaṣṭhabhid Brahmaṇāḥ.*)[6]

The warrior class (*Kṣatriyas-Senānīkula*)[7], Vaiśyas and Śūdras enjoyed the usual position in society, but members of some other groups presented a strange phenomenon. These included: Vṛṣalas[8], Varuḍas[9], Ugras[10], Niṣādas[11], Cāṇḍālas[12] and Mritapas.[13] Some of these are also mentioned in the Vedic literature like the *Vṛṣala*,[14] *Cāṇḍāla*[15] and *Niṣāda*.[16] The form Vṛṣala was used for a social outcast, but later on it implied an irreligious person (*adhārmika*)[17], as for example, in the *Mudrārākṣasa*,[18] Chandragupta is called a Vṛṣala. The Cāṇḍāla and Niṣāda are supposed to be non-Āryans representing tribal bodies, but the two terms later on denoted despised castes whose members were engaged in very low professions. Manu named the offspring from the union between a Śūdra father and a Brāhmaṇī mother a Cāṇḍāla (*śudrād āvogavaḥ kṣattā cāṇḍālas ca adhamo nrinām*)[19] but where the father wae a Brāhmaṇa and mother a Śūdra the progeny was called Pāraśava (*niṣādaḥ śūdra-kanyāyām yaḥ Pāraśava ucyate*).[20] The terms *Varuda* and *Ugra* are used for off-spring from mixed marriages. The former belonged to one of the seven low castes called *antyaja* whose occupation, according to Manu's commentator Kulluka, was splitting canes (*venor bhedanena yo jīvati buruda iti*).[21] The *Ugra* traced his origin to a Kṣatriya father and a Śūdra mother (*kṣatriyāccūdrakanyāyām*)[22] and was noted for his cruel disposition and rude conduct (*kruravihārvān*). The *Mritapa* belonged to

that class of persons who looked after dead bodies, and collected dead men's clothes, or executed criminals.[23] In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he is called *śmaśānādhikārin*,[24] the lord of the cremation ground. Persons belonging to these groups had an inferior position in the social setting, partly for their professions and partly, for their lineage. The Śakas ahd Yavanas, living in Aryan villages and hamlets outside Āryāvarta were not ostracized[25]; and they enjoyed the privilege of using a plate without polluting it. From Patañjali's comment on the Sūtra *Śūdrānām anirvasitānām*[26] one gets the impression that foreigners were being gradually assimilated in Indian society without merging their separate entity.

Family Circle

The family (*kula*)[27] formed the smaller unit and its members looked after the collective interest rather than the individual one for mutual welfare. In this connection, it may be interesting to assess the status of the existing members and that of the new entrants in the family group. The families were high and noble, like those of the regal class (*Rājakula, Rājaputrī, Rajaduhitā*),[28] or of a degraded nature (*dauṣkulyaṃ*).[29] There were certain families named after the teacher, or the preceptor, as for instance, *Gārgyakulam, Vaidakulam, Āṅgakulam, Kārīṣagandhyāpatikulam*,[30] and a few more named after the position or the designation of the person, such as *Grāmaṇikulam*[31] or *Senānīkulam*.[32] The members of this unit constituted blood kindred with varying status, as the eldest, second, and the youngest, when there were more than one son (*bahuṣu putreṣ-etad upapannam bhavaty ayam me jyeṣṭhaḥ putro'yam me madhyamo'yam me kanīyān iti*).[34] The family group included brother and his son (*bhrātuṣputra*),[34] and a number of other relations (*bahavo'bhisambandhaḥ*)[35] but the circle was not confined to marital relations only (*ārthā yaunā maukhāḥ srauvāś ca*).[36] The Gṛhapati[37] with his *bhāryā* or *patnī*, both terms being synonymous, looked after the domestic interest. The son was supposed to be the remover of sorrow (*śokāpanudaḥ putro jātaḥ*),[38] and his birth in the family was hailed with joy. The *nāmakarman* ceremony took place on the tenth day after the birth of the child (*daśamyā uttarakālam putrasya jātasya nāma bidedhyāt*).[39] The daughter's son (*dauhtira*) and grandson

(*pautra*),[40] were fairly important persons in Tamil family. The relations on the in-law's side included the parents-in-law (*śvasurā-śvasrū*).[41] The maternal and paternal aunts (*mātṛṣvasā ptiriṣvasā*)[42], the maternal uncle and aunt (his wife) (*mātula-mātulāni* or *matulī*),[43] the grandparents on the father's and the mother's side (*pitāmaha-pitāmahī*; *mātāmaha mātāmahî*)[44] were other Yauna relations. The *Mahābhāṣya* does not add other relations to the family group. The reference to the maternal uncle (*mātula*,) Āṣaḍhasena in the Pabhosa record[45] indicates the broad nature of the family circle. The members of at least there generations, *pitāmah*, *pitā* and *pautra* in direct line belonged to the family group, as one notices in the comment relating to the *Yuvasaṃjñā*.

Food

The evidence adduced by Patañjali on the subject of 'Food and Drinks', is exhaustive, with vegetarian and non-vegetarian items, solid and liquid food, arrangements for meals, milk preparations, sweets, wines, and fruits, and even dinner etiquette rules. Fasts were undertaken for some set purposes, like the one for propitiating the Sun (*Ādityavrata*).[46] In the *Mahānāmnivrata*[47] verses of that name were recited. During the period of fasting, people lived on water (*ab-bhakṣa*) and sometimes even without it. (*vāyu bhakṣa*).[48] The word *bhojya* denoted food fit for eating (*bhakṣya*), whether solid (*kharviṣada*) or liquid (*drava*); but at one place in the *Mahābhāṣya* its use is restricted to solid food alone, as for instance, in the illustration (*guḍena saṃsṛṣṭā guḍasaṃsṛṣṭaḥ-guḍasaṃsṛṣṭha dhānā-guḍadhānaḥ*).[49] A study of the data would suggest the taste of the people, and their favourite dishes.

(a) *Types of food-Vegetarian*: A vegetarian was known as *śākabhojin*[50] and he had to depend exclusively on grains and vegetables for his staple food, though there was a wider choice of alternatives. These included *śāli*[51] (a rice of ten varieties), *haṛana*[52] (a sort of red rice), *yava*[53] (barley), and *ṣaṣṭika*[54] (another kind of rice ripening in sixty days). Some other cereals were *yavāni*[55] (*ptychotis ajowan*), a kind of inferior barley, *gavidhuka*[56] boiled with rice (*gavîdhuka yavāgu*), and with barley (*gavîdhukaśaktayaḥ*)[57] in preparing gruel, and *tila*[58] (*sesamum indicum*). The auxiliary edibles, popularly known as

pulses, included *mudga*, *rājamāṣa*,[59] and *māṣa*[60] a kind of pulse having red marks with black and grey spots. Certain stuff known as *samskṛtam* could be taken without any further preparation or dressing (*samskṛtam hi nāma tad bhavati yat tad eva apakarṣna abhy-ava-hṛyaṭe*, like, groats grounded on stone (*dārṣadaḥ śakṭava iti*), but barley pounded in a mortar needed extra cooking before it could be eaten (*na ca yāvaka ulūkhalād eva apakrsyhṛyavahriyaṭe 'vaśayam randhanādīni pratīkṣyāṇi*).[61] The dressing of substances was done through different processes: *miśrikaraṇa*—the act of mixing, seasoning an ingredient; *vyañjana*—the use of anything in cooking or in preparing food; and using sauce and condiment. Failure to do so rendered the food tasteless. The two Sūtras of Pāṇini *Annena vyañjanam* and *Bhakṣeṇa miśrîkarṇam*, considered together by Patañjali[62] give some information regarding the process of dressing articles of food before they could be served on the table. *Dadhi*—curd was used for sprinkling (*dadhyupasiktā*),[63] and tamarind sauce (*taittiḍīkam*)[64] gave flavour. *Paḷāla* ground sesamum, *sūpa*—pulse juice, and *śāka* vegetables were mixed with other substances. Only *mūlaka*[65] and *alābū*[66]—the fruit of the bottle gourd mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, are placed in the list of vegetables in the *Arthaśāstra*[67] and the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana.[68]

The favourite vegetarian food was boiled rice, called *odana*,[69] also known as *bhakta*,[70] which was sometimes cooked with meat (*māmsaudana*).[71] It was much relished, and Patañjali metaphorically compares the heap of rice served on a plate to the mountain Vindhya (*Vindhyo vardhitakaṃ iti*).[72] This staple food dating back to the Vedic times,[73] and continued to be popular in the later period as well.[74] *Yavāgū* or rice gruel, was a liquid substance, possibly licked with the fingers of the hand (*vilepi*) or mixed with water and then drunk (*peya*). It is associated with *payas* milk and *sūpa* meant for Brāhmaṇas (*brahmaṇārtha yavagū iti*).[75] The *Kāśikā* mentions *yavāgū* of a thin variety (*alpānnā yavāgūr uṣṇikā ity ucyaṭe*),[76] and another—a scaldy one (*nakhaṃpacā yavāgū*).[77] In earlier literature,[78] it is referred to as a barley gruel, but it also denoted weak decoctions of other kinds of *Jartila* and *Gavîdhuka*[79] *Sūpa*, or thin curry, dressed with salt (*lavanaḥ sūpaḥ*),[80] was a good combination with boiled rice (*iha ca bahur odanaḥ bahuḥ sūpa iti*).[81] A pea-soup was also prepared (*kālāva sūpa*).[82]

The vegetarian menu included several other items, some of which were meant for breakfast, or afternoon nourishment, such as *krisara*[83] a mixture of sesamum and rice, with a few peas and spices added to it, and *śaktu*,[84] groats mixed with molasses or *dadhi*. Sweets and sweet cakes included *ṣaṣkuli*[85] made of ground rice, sugar and sesamum and cooked in oil; *pūpa*[86] or *apūpa*,[87] mixed with ghee (*ghṛtavant*), or made of rice and barley; *piṣṭapiṇḍi*[88] a flour cake, and *palāla*[89] a kind of sweet-meat made of *guḍa*, sesamum and sugar, and cooked. The substances, used in making sweet preparations, were *madhu*[90] or honey, *guḍa*[91] molasses produced from sugarcane juice, and *śarkara*[92] or crystal sugar. The sweet balls popularly known as *modaka*[93] were relished by children. Certain cold drinks soothed the wearied people in summer, as for example, *guḍodka*[94], a thin liquid substance, being a mixture of water and molasses. *Payas* milk and whey (*mathitam*) were available from shopkeepers known as *māthitika*.[94] *Haiyamgavîna*[95] was clarified butter prepared from last day's milk.

(b) *Non-vegetarian*: The non-vegetarians seem to have enjoyed both types of food, as there were some restrictions imposed by custom regarding the slaughter of animals. As Patañjali mentions that five five-nailed animals could be taken (*pañca pañcanakhā·bhakṣyā*) but not others (*anve'bhakṣyaḥ*).[96] The wild boar and the wild cock could be eaten, but not those from the village itself (*abhakṣyo grāmyakukkuo'bhakṣyo grāmya-śūkara*.[97] A town born boar or cock also enjoyed this privilege (*nagaro'pi na bhakṣyate*).[88] A glutton, fond of flesh, was known as *māṃ sasīlaḥ*.[99] There is a reference to deer being sacrificed for preparing meat rice (*māmsaudanāya vyāharati mṛgaḥ*).[100] Raw flesh was known as *kravya*[101] and that of sheep was called *avermāṃsam*.[102] The meat, with a thick membrance or omentum (*pravapāni maṃsāni*)[103] was probably relished. One who had tasted the flesh of Śārṅga bird was called *Śāraṅgajagdhi*[104]. Onions (*palāṇḍu*)[105] were, probably, included in the non-vegetarian menu, but in literature their use is forbidden for the Kṣatriyas.[106] The fish enter was required to remove scales and small bones before eating it (*śakalakaṇṭakān utsrijati*).[107]

(c) *Fruits and drinks*: In a lavish menu, items of dessert and sweet wines were not left out. The fruits included: *Bimba*[108] (*momordica monadelpha*) to which the lips of women are com-

pared by poets;[109] *dāḍima*, pomegranate; *mṛdvika*[110], a kind of vine having reddish grapes and *kuvali*[111], the fruit of jujube tree. These are only a few fruits mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but there were certainly other fruits as well. Different kinds of drinks, both soft and alcoholic, were enjoyed by the people. In the case of a Brāhmaṇī, religious penalty was attached to drinking, and one, so doing, incurred the risk of being deprived of the company of her husband in the next world (*ya Brāhmaṇī surāpī bhavati nainām devāḥ patiloke nayanti*).[112] Its use, however, was not unknown in a Brāhmaṇa family. The Bhāṣyakāra mentions the following types of alcoholic drinks: *surā*[113] which was distilled from molasses, and a spirituous liquor made of rice called *prasannā* which often had oily substance in it (*bahu-tailam prasannā*),[114] and *śuṇḍā*, a spirituous liquor,[115] though the term also denoted a tavern where it was available, and its seller was known as *śuṇḍāra*.[116] One fond of it was called *śauṇḍa*.[117] *Āsuti*,[118] a brew mixture mentioned earlier by Pāṇini, was a religious drink prepared by the priest, known as *Āsutīvala*.[119] Flavour was sometimes given to these alcoholic preparations by mixing onion juice (*ayam palāṇḍunā surām pibet*).[120] Drinking to the lees was not unknown, and there is a reference to drinking a complete jar (*ghaṭimdhamaḥ*), and through a pipe made of reed (*nāḍimdhamaḥ*).[121]

Dinner Etiquette

Certain conventional dinner rules were observed in refined society with a view to maintaining the dignity of social relations. These included table manners, and those relating to the extending and acceptance of invitations to dinner. The servers were not expected to partake while the guests were eating (*Brāhmaṇā bhojyantām, māṭharakauṇḍinyau parivevisṭam iti na idānîm tau bhuñjate*.[122] Invitations were generally extended to members of one's caste (*anvo'nyam ime Brāhmaṇa kule bhojayataḥ*)[123] Certain Brāhmaṇas, known as *śrāddhabhojin*, accepted invitations to partake obsequial food; but those, who avoided such invitations, were called *a-śrāddhabhoji Brāhmanaḥ*.[124] There were two kinds of invitations—*nimantraṇa* and *āmantraṇa*. The former was extended in offering *havya* oblation to gods, and *havya* oblation to mane food. It was obligatory to accept it (*evam tarhi yan niyogataḥ kartavyam tān nimantraṇam*), as its

refusal entailed sin (*brāhmaṇena siddham bhujyatām ity ukte dharmaḥ pratvākhyātuḥ.*)[125] *Āmantraṇa* was only a friendly invitation without any obligation attached to it. A common meal was called *samāsa*[126] which, probably, implied taking food on the same table, or in the same row, as is generally the custom, on the floor but in different plates. In certain customary feasts, the choice was limited to a particular item, as for example, the *vaṭaka* cakes were eaten on the *vaṭakinī Paurṇamāsī*[127] day.

Household Effects

These included several utensils used in cooking, as well as those laid on the dinner table, and others, needed for ordinary household comforts. Patañjali mentions a smaller water jar *ghaṭika*[128] *kuṇḍikā*[129]—a still smaller vessel, popularly known as student's water pot, and *kumbha*[130]—another type of water storing vessel. The last one was big enough to store grain which could last for some time. One doing so was known as *kumbhīdhānya* (*yasya kumbhyām eva dhānyam sa kumbhidhānyaḥ*).[131] Other vessels included: *kuṇda*[132]—which was bowl-shaped, as illustrated by Fergusson[133] in his work showing a woman holding a bowl in her left hand, and a *ghaṭa*—covered with a glass in her right hand; and *sthālī*[134]—a big earthen dish or pan, now known us *thālī*. There is a reference to *sthālipiṭhara*[135] probably, a wooden stool on which the plate was placed. *Ukhā*, a boiler or cauldron, is noted by Patañjali[136] by way of comparison. There were also special jars for storing ghee (*ghṛtaghaṭa*) and oil (*tailaghaṭa*).[137] *Śarāva*[138] was a small shallow dish or cup which is mentioned in earlier literature,[139] as a measure of corn, and *cāru*[140] was particularly used in preparing oblation of the same name. Some of the vessels, like those for storing water, oil or ghee, were earthen, but copper or bronze ones were not unknown, and were used for taking rice and ghee, as well as milk, as mentioned in the famous story of an old woman asking for a boon from Indra (*bahukṣīraghṛtam odanam kāṃśyapātram bhuñjiraññiti*).[141] Some of these utensils a bowl, plate or platter and a water vessel are also noticed in the Bhārhut sculptures.[142]

Other household effects included: soft chair (*mañcikā*)[143] a bedstead (*khaṭvā*),[144] and lamps (*pradîpa*)[145] of two kinds a

standing one with a heavy base to keep it steady, and a hanging one, as shown in the Bhārhut sculptures.[146] The chairs with back and arms, or plain ones, like ordinary stools were different from those used by the noble class.[147] The bedstead was a simple oblong frame supported on four legs, called *khaṭvāpāda*[148] by Patañjali with club feet, exactly like the common bedstead of the present day.

Housing Arrangements

The information supplied by the *Mahābhāṣya* on this topic is meagre, but the Bhārhut illustrations are helpful in this matter. The dwelling houses were of one stereotyped pattern,[149] consisting of a long room with a pointed or semi-cylindrical domed roof, and a small opening for air and light on each side. B.M. Barua suggested[150] that the home of the common people was a mud-walled hut, provided with doors and small windows and the same pattern was used for the market shops. The abodes of hermits and ascetics were mere huts, with roofs thatched with straw and the four sides tapered to a point marked by a pinnacle.[151] The best illustration of such huts is provided by the one, fenced with a bamboo palisade, and adorned with a somewhat ornamental pinnacle.[152] Patañjali mentions *gavākṣā*[153] or round window, and *aṭṭālikā* or tower. The compound *aṭṭālikā-bandham*[154] has been used by him to illustrate the formation of those towers. The plastering (*kuṭṭimā*)[155] of the floor had not changed the simplicity of the houses, which were in striking contrast, at least in size, with the places of which only one specimen,[156] that *vaijayanta prāsāda*, is seen in the sculptures. It is a three-storied building divided into three perpendicular portions with an open pillared hall in the basement, and three arched openings on each section. Further details are wanting, and there is no reference to the plastering of walls (*kaṭalepana*), partitions (*bhitti*), separate apartments for ladies (*antaḥpura*), and the painting of the house (*varṇitā*), as one finds in the Sanskrit Buddhist[157] literature of a later period. The Bhāṣyakāra is silent about the material used in the construction of houses. Megasthenes mentions[158] the beautiful wooden place of the Mauryas, but the monuments of this period suggest a change from wood to stone or bricks, which may have imposed some limitations on the size and types of houses. This may be the main reason for

a single pattern of houses, as one finds in the Bhārhut sculptures.

Dress

Evidence relating to these items is available from several sources—the *Mahābhāṣya*, Bhārhut sculptures and the terracotta figurines of that period which have been found at many places in northern India. The use of clothes was primarily to cover the body (*śāṭakān ācchādayāmaḥ*).[159] The lower garment was called *upasaṁvyāna*[160] corresponding to modern *dhotī*-loin cloth which was generally white in colour (*śukla vastra*).[161] The upper cloth for covering shoulders was called *paṭa*. Its white colour (*pataḥ śuklaḥ*)[162] made it distinct from the red turban (*lohito uṣṇīṣaḥ*) which was the common dress of a priest (*lohitoṣṇīṣa ṛtvijaḥ pracaranti*).[163] Patañjali also refers to the use of cotton (*kārpāsa*)[164] and wool (*ūrṇa*).[165] The sewing of clothes was done through a sharp needle (*tîkṣṇāvā sūcyā sīvyan*).[166] The use of tunics was known even in earlier times, and the Bhārhut sculptures have a single figure of a soldier dressed in tunic with long sleeves covering the mid thigh. It is tied in two places by a cord with two tassels, and across the stomach by a double-looped bow. The *dhotī*, as usual, covers the loins and thighs, reaching below the knees, with the ends hanging down to the ground in front in a series of extremely stiff and formal folds.[167] Boots were also used. Patañjali refers to leather shoes (*aupanahyām carma*), as well as wooden sandals (*aupanayam dāru*).[168] These are also noticed in the solitary figure of a soldier at Bhārhut, reaching up to the legs and fastened by a cord with two tassels. The lay devotees are bare-footed, as it is against the custom of the country to put on shoes in places of worship.

The dress of ladies consisted of a skirt, generally white in colour (*śukla śāṭî*).[169] There is no reference to the covering of the upper part, but one can hardly doubt the use of *paṭa*. The upper parts of the figures of Yakṣiṇīs Candā and Cūlakokā are shown naked in sculptures, but in the case of the former there are perceptible marks of the folds creases, or as Cunningham pointed out[170] of a light muslin wrapper under the right breast. He thought it probable that an upper garment of a light material was intended to be shown by the sculptor, but its folds were purposely avoided with a view to displaying different types of necklaces, collars and girdles. The head was covered by

elaborately worked veils, of which specimens can be noticed in the Yakṣiṇī figures at Bhārhut.[171] The sculptor found it rather difficult to show the wrapping of the veil which covers the shoulders down to the waist, and the parallel creases, seen under the right breast, are probably intended to show that the chaddar upper covering, was wrapped round the body. Strabo also mentions[172] embroidered garments, interwoven with gold.

The dyeing of clothes was very common. Patañjali[173] refers to the blue (*nīla*), yellow (*pīta*), green (*harit*), and brown red (*kāṣāya*) colours. Red was very popular, and the turban cloth was dyed in that colour. The substance used for dyeing was known as *śakala*, a kind of black pigment, but clay or slime (*kardama*),[174] was well-known. A taste for the combination of colours is apparent from a reference to the white amidst the red (*dvayor raktayor vastravor madhye śuklam vastram tadguṇam upa-labhyate.*).[175]

Ornaments

Patañjali mentions four kinds of ornaments which could be made out of a lump of gold without disturbing the substance, (*ākṛtir anyā ca anvā ca bhayati dravyam punas tad eva*).[176] These are *rūcaka*, *kaṭaka*, *svastika*, and *kuṇḍala*. Probably *rūcaka* was a kind of gold ornament or necklace, while *kaṭaka* was a bracelet of gold or shell. The *svastika* and *kuṇḍala* were a triangular piece and an ear-ring respectively. Besides these ornaments, a few more noticed in the Bhārhut sculptures can be listed. Ornaments were not confined to ladies only; men also used a few. Ear-rings, necklaces, armlets and bracelets were put on by both, but forehead pieces like *latikā* or the fastened leaf, long collars, garlands, zones or girdles and *anklets* were exclusively meant for ladies.[177] The *svastika* of Patañjali was a triangular crest jewel. The ear-rings, popularly known as *karṇikā* or *kuṇḍala*, were of different types, as shown by Cunningham.[178] The attached pendants were given separate names, such as bell pendant, now called *jhumkā* in Hindi. The Buddhist *triratna* was very popular. Necklace corresponding to *rūcaka* of Patañjali, now called *hāra*, could be a short (*kaṇṭhabhūṣā*), or a long one (*lalāntikā*), reaching as far as the breasts. The *triratna* figures prominently in it. Armlets, used uniformly,[179] were bands of gold with precious stones embedded in them. They are now

known as *bājū*, and are used by ladies alone. Bracelets, corresponding to *kaṭaka* of the *Mahābhāṣya* had a succession of strings and beads, either square or round in shape and their number varied.[180] Girdles were exclusively meant for ladies and there are some good specimens of this ornament in the Bhārhut sculptures.[181] Some of these have small bunches or bells sounding with the gait of the lady. Anklets and finger-rings were minor ornaments. The former were either of spiral coils, or of consecutive circles of gold pieces one over the other, the upper and the lower ones being ornamented.[182]

These ornaments had something more than their decorative value; they harmonised with the beauty of the body. Their use further depended on the taste of the person. The tendency to put on too many ornaments was common among ladies; for men it was merely an attempt to show off.

Hair Arrangement

The arrangement of hair was not so simple, as may appear, with a parting line in the middle (*sīmanta*) and the mass of hair gathered together at the back and plaited into one or two long rolls hanging down as low as the waist, or twisted and tied into a large knot at the back (*kesānāṁ samāhāraś cūḍasya keśācūḍaḥ*).[183] There are also references to shaven-headed persons (*muṇḍa*), those with twisted hair (*jaṭi*), or keeping a tuft or lock of hair on the crown of the head (*śikhī*).[184] The cutting of hair was also known (*keśānvapati*),[185] and some also shaved their moustache (*keśaśmasrū vapati*).[186] Patañjali refers to *tanukeśvaḥ sirīvaḥ*—,[187] meaning 'ladies with delicate hair,' or 'keeping bob-wig' which one hardly finds in the sculptures of that period. The figures at Bhārhut and Sāñcī, however, show different methods of arranging the hair. In the first type, the loose hair is allowed to fall at the back, and then the end is looped and knotted,[188] or it is arranged in a top knot when the lady has a head dress.[189] In the third type, the falling hair down the back is divided into two halves, and that, too, further into tassels, and then plaited.[190] Men generally kept long hair tied in a top knot around which the folds of the turban were arranged.[191] The fashion of keeping plaited hair by the ladies, coiled round the head in a top knot, is also observed in

sculptures.[192] In some cases the hair is fastened by an ornament.[193] The ascetics, as usual, have long hair worn round the crown in a cone like fashion, or simply let loose, with their wavy beards.[194] Curly locks touching the neck are favourite with musicians, charioteers and soldiers.[195]

A terracotta figurine of the Śuṅga period, now in the Indian Institute Museum at Oxford,[196] is notable for its ornamental elaboration, and coiffure arrangement. The head dress of this figure is most attractive. The hair seems to be enclosed in a close fitting bonnet (or fillet) bordered from four rows of beads and terminating in two flower tassels. On each side of the bonnet are two turban like roles of cloth, each bound with a belt and highly ornate. The left one, slightly bigger, is made up of five vertical stripes with strings of beads at regular intervals; but the right one is embellished with six rows of flower ornament between which are strings of beads. There are five emblems stuck into the right side.

The arranging of hair needed oil, comb and mirror, while collyrium sticks, unguent vases, and pots were required for the make up of the face. Patañjali mentions *candana*—sandal, *gandha*—perfume, and *añjana* or black pigment[197] applied to the eye lashes. There is no reference to the method of preparing cosmetics and their proper application. A few centuries later, Aśvaghoṣa refers to the pounding of ointments, and the application of *candana* paste with the help of a stick (*pattrāṁguli*),[198] which is also seen in a toilet scene depicted on a door jamb belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period.[199] Probably the same thing was done in this period as well. The use of comb was not unknown to the Indians, even at the time of the Mohenjodaro civilization, and a very fine ivory comb, rectangular in shape with teeth on both the sides, was found by Mackay at the western end of the long lane.[200]

Face Decoration

Cunningham noticed[201] certain designs, probably tatooed, on the face of female figures, as for example, the sun and the moon and several types of flowers. An *aṁkuśa* or goad like mark is observed on the cheeks of a female bust figure, and the goddess Sirimā has a single star or flower on her left cheek bone. There are certain other figures which are more ornamented. These

include one with a small bird or *triśūla* above each breast, another on the upper arm, an *aṁkuśa* or goad with two straight lines and a small flower on each cheekbone, besides two elaborate cheek ornaments. A third figure has the cheekbones decorated with the sun and the moon, and each cheek is covered with a dense mass of small ornaments. Cunningham contended on the basis of these marks that the Bhārhut culture should be associated with an aboriginal tribe called Kols. This is rather a far fetched explanation. The Bhārhut culture is unconnected with that region and, secondly, it furnishes evidence of an advanced social organism. Now, as regards tatooing, it is known in northern India, and there was a time when tatooing of a star on the chin was encouraged even amongst high class ladies. In these figures, facial decorations were only of a temporary character, associated with the paint on the face.

Marriage and Position of Women

A lawfully wedded wife is called *bhāryā* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*pāṇigṛhītāahārvā*),[202] but a synonymous term *ūḍhā*[203] is also mentioned. In another reference the term is used for a *Kṣatriyā* married lady (*bhāryā nāma kṣatriyā*), [204] but the appellation is too common, and its use cannot be restricted to denote ladies of any particular caste. Sometimes co-wives were also addressed as *bhāryas* (*kaibhavato bhāryā iti*),[205] which may suggest polygamy, but it was practised only under exceptional circumstances in Indian society. The girls sometime had their choice in matrimony which was rather popular in the regal class. Patañjali refers here to a Brāhmaṇi girl (*kharur iyam Brāhmaṇi*).[206] This may have been an exceptional case because marriages were generally arranged by parents who took into consideration the *gotra* and family of the other party. Sagotra marriage was not permissible, and one finds references to marital alliances between different *gotras*; the Atri with Bhāradvāja (*Ātribharadvājikā*), Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa (*Vaśiṣṭhakaśyapikā*), Bhṛgu and Amgirāsa (*Bhṛgvaṃgirāsikā*), Garga Bhārgava (*Gargabhārgavikā*) and Kutsa and Kuśika (*Kutsakusikā*).[207] Despite the care taken by the parents to preserve purity through proper marriages, there were occasional lapses, and the Bhāṣyakāra refers to ladies who were not attached to any particular paramour, but were friendly with many (*naṭṭāñām striyo raṅgaṃ gatā yo yaḥ pṛcchati kasya*

yūyam kasya yūyam iti tam tam tava tava ityāhuḥ,[208] Patañjali also refers to unchaste girl (*udariṇīkanyā*)[209], and her offspring was called *kānīna*.[210]

After marriage the parties had certain conjugal rights and obligations towards each other. The relations between the husband and the wife were like the twisting of the rope (*pāni sargyā rajjuḥ*),[211] and the wife clung to her lord in that spirit. Association with a woman during her periods was tabooed, and it was supposed that a woman drinking with one, who was in courses, got herself in menstrua (*va kharyena pibati tasyai kaarvastisro rātriḥ tasvā iti prāpte.*)[212] The *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛti* have refrained a lady in courses even from looking at deities.[213] A pregnant lady (*gatbhīdhārya*), and one having delivered the child (*prasūtabhārvā*)[214] or *sūtikā*[215] needed special care. Though there is no reference to a *sūtikāgṛha*, the place of child delivery, one can hardly question the special arrangements which had to be made for that purpose. Ladies had freedom of movement, and there is no reference to the observance of *pardā*. They enjoyed the respect of their family members. John Marshall referred[216] to the politeness of Indian manners, as he noticed precedence given to ladies over men in the Sāñci gateway sculptures, especially in scenes of worship.

Pastime and Recreation

The types and spheres of recreations varied, according to the sex and taste of the person, but there were some which were universally enjoyed. Patañjali mentions three terms which are more or less synonymous—*samāja*, *samāsa* and *samavāya*[217] meaning 'festive gathering'. Numerous items of entertainment, like, music, dancing and acting figured there. Patañjali refers to Kaṃsa and his slaughter, and the binding of Bali being shown on the stage (*ye tāvad ete śobhanikā nāmaite pratvakṣaṃ Kaṃsam ghātavanti pratvakṣam ca Balim bandhayati iti*).[218] In these performances, besides the show, the speech of the narrator and dialogues, were equally enjoyed. (*yadāram-bhakā raṅgam gacchanti naṭasva śroṣyāmogranthikasya śroṣyāma iti*).[219] The actor used different types of head dresses (*sarvakesin naṭa*)[220] The producer connected with the stage was known as *śobhanika*[221] (*śaubhika*) a term which, according to the *Mahāvastu*[222], denoted a magician. It is just possible that there was a display

of magic on the stage, as a later work, the *Divyāvadāna*[223] actually mentions three kinds of magic performance (*manojava*, *stambhanî* and *śikhî*).

Dancing was also practised with the movements of steps in a rhythmical manner, and the hands expressing themes through gestures. This art seems to be confined to ladies alone. Patañjali refers to female dancers (*nartakikā*),[224] and the Bhārhut sculptures show only ladies dancing. Five dancing scenes representing, probably, different forms are noticed.[225] These include a wife wanting to please her husband, the accomplished nymphs and courtesans dancing to the accompaniment of vocal and instrumental music, a Nāgī maiden dancing on the lifted hood of a Nāgarāja maintaining rhythm with wavy motions of his body, and lastly, dancing by a Nāgarāja. The reference, quoted above, suggest the practice of dramatic art in both ways—dancing and acting. Keith placed[226] *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the third century AD, but Pāṇini's reference to the *Naṭasūtras*[227] testify to the practice of some form of dancing and acting even in his time. Patañjali refers in a simile to a peacock dancing towards his beloved (*priyām mayūraḥ pratinarnṛti vadvat tvam naṛavara narnṛtīṣi hṛitaḥ*).[228] There is also a reference to troupe dancers or actors (*śailālino naṭaḥ*)[229], who are noticed in an inscription[230] of the Kuṣāṇa period (*śailālakas*). It is not certain if there were particular families of actors, or mobile companies visiting different places during this period.

Playing on vocal or instrumental music for pleasure was common. Certain gestures and postures in the Bhārhut sculptures[231] suggest the practice of vocal music. Patañjali mentions[232] some musical instruments: drum (*mṛdaṅga*), conch (*śaṅkha*), flute (*tūṇava*) and another instrument of the guitar type (*vīṇā*) having seven strings. One proficient in playing on drum (*mṛdaṅga*) was known as *mārdaṅgika* (*mṛdaṅga vādanam śilpaṁ anyā mārdaṅgikaḥ*)[233], whom Pāṇini called *maḍḍuka* which is explained in the *Kāśikā* as *maḍḍukavādanam śilpam asya māḍḍukaḥ*,[234] and a tabor player *jharjhara*. *Piṭhara*[235] was a kind of saucepan for making musical sounds. Most of these instruments can be seen in the Bhārhut sculptures, and some were known even in Vedic times. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*[236] enumerates the parts of a *vīṇā*-head or neck (*śiras*), cavity (*udara*), sounding board (*ambhama*), string (*tantra*) and plectrum (*vādana*). The scenes, noted for the

display of these musical instruments, are quite a few in the Bhārhut sculptures. A harp of seven strings is being played in the bas-relief of the Indraśālaguha, and the Audabhūta Jātaka scenes,[237] and a drum, two harps and a pair of cymbals can be seen in the famous dancing *apaṣarās* scene,[238] while a stringed *vīṇā* in the hand of Pañcaśikhā, the famous harper of Indra, is very conspicuous in another relief.[239] The drums—a smaller one beaten by the fingers, and the bigger ones suspended from the neck and requiring drum sticks, are noticed in the heavenly dancing scenes.[240] An Indian pipe, probably *tūnava*, is also traced with a pair of cymbals.[241] The two kinds of drums were known as *mṛdaṅga* and *kinkiṇī*.[242]

Wrestling, walking and fire display were other items of recreations. The wrestling ground (*śālā*) attracted wrestlers (*malla*)[243] but walking after meals (*bhuktvā vrajati*),[244] might have been a good exercise for old men. Display of fireworks (*alāṭa cakram*)[245] was, probably, enjoyed by children alone, but dice playing was a favourite pastime for those who could afford to stake. Gamblers were known as *akṣadyu*; and those playing with stakes of gold were called *hiraṇyadu*.[246] Rogues or cheats in this game were common (*akṣadhūrta*).[247] Dice-playing has been a favourite pastime since the Vedic times,[248] and continued to attract patrons, despite its consequences, in all ages.[249] Patañjali also notices another game called *śalākā* in which an unlucky throw was known as *śalākāpari*[250] in contrast to *akṣapari* in the game of dice.

Social Evils

Lack of enterprise and a desire to grow rich with very little effort (*iha hi sarve manuṣyā alpena yatnena mahato'rthān ākaṅkṣanti*)[251], generally prompted people to adopt underhand means. There were evils like beggary (*dārātham bhikṣāmahe*) or striving for women (*dārārtham ghaṭāmahe*).[252] The beggar was not satisfied with the first alms, but was anxious to accumulate (*bhikṣuko'yam dvitivām bhikṣāṁ āsādva pūrvām na jahāti saṁcavāva pravartate*).[253] Cheats (*pārśvakāḥ*)[254] were anxious to secure money, but there were other social parasites like the abductor of women (*strīkitava*),[255] or slayer of young boys (*kaumāra ghātin*).[256] The seducer even went to the extent of causing abortion (*bhraṇahatva*)[257] with a view to wash off his sins. These evils were not

confined to men alone; women were equally responsible, may be, indirectly in certain cases. The prostitutes had their group at a conspicuous place (*gaṇikānām samūho gāṇikyaṁ*).[258] It is needless to shed light on this institution which has had a long and connected history. Garrulous people (*mukhara*)[259] were not encouraged in society.

Miscellaneous Items of Social Interest

There are certain other items of social interest which refer to social etiquette or conventions, as for example, one should not bow to the ladies in return (*abhivāde strīyān mā*),[260] or hands should be washed after touching fallen hair and nails (*loma nakham spriṣṭvā śaucaṁ kartavyam iti*),[261] and the daiiy needs of body should be attended first (*puruṣo'yam prātar utthāya vāny asva prati śarîram kāryāni tāni tāvat kkroti*).[262] These are minor matters which have hardly any value, except for a little interest.

We have noticed the social life of the period under study in all its aspects. The division of society into the usual groups, and the creation of new castes, with the different names given to off-spring from mixed marriages, received first attention. Patañjali was aware of this social phenomenon which was not new to that period. He was, however, anxious to preserve the purity of the Brāhmaṇas, who, despite their failings, continued to enjoy their position by birth in Hindu society. A few castes, especially the mixed ones, had some special functions attached to them. Family was a homogeneous unit, consisting of blood relations, and the authority of the head was recognized. The standard of living can very well be judged by the data on food, dress and ornaments. We discussed these topics in detail. The househlod effects included domestic utensils needed for food preparation, and furniture. We also considered the problem of marriage, and the position of women, as noticed in the *Mahā-bhāṣya*. The ladies seen to have enjoyed considerable freedom, as noticed in the sculptures. Pastime and recreations were many and universally enjoyed, like, theatrical performances, accompanied with dancing and music. Different kinds of musical instruments, mentioned by Patañjali, are also noticed in sculptures. The indoor recreations included the game of dice which was probably meant for old and rich people, who had time and

money to spend in stakes. Social evils in a progressive society were not unknown. The evidence, on the whole, suggests an advanced social organism, with full opportunities for relaxation and entertainments, and, despite some social evils, the people, in general, were religious in outlook.

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[3]Ibid., p. 22.
[4]VI.2.36, p. 125.25.
[5]V.1.115, p. 363.15.
[6]III.4.69, p. 179.13.
[7]I.1.39, p. 97.16.
[8]I.1.7. p. 59.18.
[9]IV.1.97, p. 253.5.
[10]IV.1.14, p. 257.15.
[11]V.4.36, p. 435.8.
[12]II.4.10, p. 475.6,
[13]Ibid.
[14]*RV.* X.34.11; cf. *Nirukta*, III.16.
[15]*Vāj. Sam.*, XXX.21; *Tait. Brāh.*, III.4.17, 1, etc.
[16]*Tait. Sam.*, IV.5,4, 2; *Vāj Sam.*, XVI.27 etc.
[17]*Sanskrit*, Werterbüch. 6, p. 1342.
[18]Act, I.
[19]X.12, cf. *Mah.*, XIII. 2572.
[20]X.8.
[21]IV.215 (Mandalik's edition).
[22]*Manu.*, X. 9.
[23]*Mah.*, XIII.2583.
[24]I 59.8.
[25]*Mahābhāṣya*, vol. I, p. 475.
[26]II.4.10, p. 475.
[27]I.1.51, p. 128.9.
[28]VI. 3.70, p. 161.12.
[29]VIII. 5.41, p.434.5.
[30]II. 4.64, p. 493.
[31]∀I.1.13 ,p. 20.4.
[32]I.1.7, p. 128.9.
[33]I.1.62, p. 161.9.
[34]I.1.21, p. 77.20.
[35]I.2.71, p. 250.13.
[36]I.1.49, p. 118.21.
[37]IV.4 90, p. 354.16.
[38]III.2.5, p. 98.16.

[39]I. 1.1, p. 4.32.
[40]IV.1.104, p. 254.27.
[41]I.271, p. 250.27.
[42]IV.1.99, p. 252.21.
[43]IV.1.49, p. 220.21.
[44]IV, p. 2.36, p. 277.17, 22.
[45]*EI*, vol. II, p. 240.
[46]I, 2.54, p. 246.28.
[47]V.1.94, p. 360.9.
[48]I.1.1, p, 6.23.
[49]II.I.35, p. 387.9.
[50]II.1.69, p. 406.7
[51]I.1.23, p. 82.5.
[52]IV,1.27, p. 223.3.
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[54]V.1.93, p. 360,3.
[55]IV.1.49, p. 220.
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[58]III.2.28, p. 102.6.
[59]V.1.20, p. 345.25.
[60]I.151, p. 127.8.
[61]IV.3.25, p. 307.8 f.
[62]II.1.34-35, p. 286.
[63]II.1.35, p. 387.8.
[64]IV.3.156, p. 326.8.
[65]IV.1.48, p. 219.20.
[66]VI.3.61, p. 164.9.
[67]XXIV, p. 117.
[68]I.28.
[69]I.1.1, p. 42.17.
[70]III.1.26, p. 33.26.
[71]II.3.13, p. 450,1.
[72]I.4.24, p. 327.
[73]*RV*, VIII, 97, 10; *Śat. Brāh.*, II.5.3.4. etc.
[74]*Mil.*, p. 16, 1.18; *Mahāvastu*, vol. I, p. 327 etc.
[75]II. 1.36, p. 388.25.
[76]p. 422 (Benares edn.).
[77]p. 174.
[78]*Taitt. Sam.*, VI.2.5.2.
[79]Ibid., V.4, 3, 2.
[80]I.2.51, p. 277.13,
[81]I.421, p. 321.10.
[82]V.1.19, p. 344.18.
[83]VIII, 3.59, p. 439. 1.12.
[84]I.1.57, p. 149.11.
[85]I.1.47, p. 116.23.

[86]I.1.1, p. 38.5.
[87]I.2.45, p. 217.13.
[88]II.1.57, p. 399.24.
[89]I.1.1, p. 38.6.
[90]I.1.1, p. 18.19.
[91]I.4.49, p. 333.3.
[92]IV.4.83, p. 334.11.
[93]V.1.119, p. 366.9.
[94]I.4.3, p. 310.14.
[95]I.3.83. p. 425.18.
[96]V.2.23, p. 375.2.5.
[97]I.1.1, p. 6.16f.
[98]VII. 3,14, p. 320.22.
[99]III2.1, p. 95.18.
[100]II. 3.1, p. 450.1.
[101]III. 2.69, p. 108.6.
[102]IV. 2.60, p. 283.20.
[103]VIII. 4.16, p. 458.12.
[104]II. 2.36, p. 437.21.
[105]Ibid.
[106]*Divyāvadāna*, p. 409.21.
[107]I.2 39, p. 912.6.
[108]I. 1.58, p. 154,13.
[109]I. 1.1, p. 38.5.
[110]VI. 3 42, p. 158.16.
[111]IV. 3.170, p. 323.5.
[112]III. 2.8, p. 99.8.
[113]I.2.6.2, p. 242.25.
[114]V.3.66, p. 421.27.
[115]IV.1.52; p. 246 26
[116]V.3.88, p. 427.4.
[117]II 1.1, p. 363.8.
[118]VI.4.194, p. 229.23.
[119]V.2.112.
[120]p. 419.4.
[121]III 2 29, p. 102.15,16.
[122]I.1.2, p. 29.14.
[123]VIII.1'14, p. 370.19
[124]III.2.80, p. 109.1.19.
[125]III.1.161, p. 165.13-15.
[126]I.1.50, p. 123.3.
[127]V.2.82, p. 388.20.
[128]I.1.1, p. 7.13.
[129]I.4 44, p. 102.12.
[130]I.1.58, p. 153.1.
[131]I 3.7, p. 264.2.

132I.1.1, p. 38.5.
133 *Tree and Serpent Worship*,, pl. XXXa.
134 IV.1.1, p. 194.17.
135I.4.101, p. 350.21.
136IV.1.6, p. 202.13.
137II.1.1, p. 364.18.
138I.1.72, p. 189.24.
139*Vedic Index*, vol, II, p. 358 and ref.
140IV.2.7, p. 273.12.
141VIII 2.2, p. 388.12.
142Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, pls. XXVIII, figs. 3, 3; XL, fig. 3.
143IV.1.3, p. 201.3.
144Ibid., 23.
145II.1.1, p. 359.6.
146Pls. XXVIII, fig. 3, XVI, fig.3.
147Ibid., pls. XXV. 3; XXVII.12; XLVIII.2.
148I.2.48, p.224.16.
149Cunningham, op. cit., pl. XLIII, fig. I; XLV, fig. 7.
150*Bhārhut*, vol. III.139 (figs. 43, 94, 102).
1511Ibid., fig. 131.
152Ibid., fig. 105.
153III.4.156, p. 166.5.
154III.4.41, p. 177.17.
155IV.4.20, p. 330.10.
156Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, p. 118; pl. XVI, fig. 1.
157*Saddh. Puṇḍ.*, III.39-50.
158*Lalit.*, XIV, p. 186.
159I.1.1, p. 19.4.
160I.1.36, p. 93.12,
161I.1.11, p. 67.23.
162I.4.21, p. 321.16.
163I.1.27, p. 96.7.
164IV 1.55, p. 224.14.
165V.1.3, p. 338.19.
166II.1.2, p. 373.20.
167Cunningham, op. cit., p. 32.
168V.1.2, p. 337.6-7.
169II 2 5, p. 410.21.
170Op. cit., p. 33.
171Op. cit., p. 33.
172XV.1.69.
173IV.2.2, p. 271.10f.
174Ibid.
175I.1.29, p. 206.
176I.1.1, p. 7.15f.
177Cunningham, op. cit., pl.XLIV, figs. 1-9.
178Ibid., pl. XLIX, fig. 15, 16, 18, 19.

[179]Ibid., fig. 12.
[180]Ibid., p. 37.
[181]Ibid., pl. LI, fig. 3.
[182]Ibid., figs. 4, 5.
[183]II.2.24, p 424.1.
[184]I.1.2, p. 17.18.
[185]VI.1.9, p. 14.12.
[186]I.3.1, p. 256.12.
[187]VI.3.34, p. 152.27.
[188]Barua, *Bhārhut*, vol. III, pl. XXIII top.
[189]Ibid., pl. XXX.23, left side.
[190]Ibid, pl. XXXIX.34.
[191]Ibid, pl. XXX.23.
[192]Fergusson, op. cit., pls. XXX, fig. 1; XXXIII, fig. 2.
[193]Ibid., pl. XXXV, fig. 2.
[194]Ibid., pl. XXV, fig. 1.
[195]Ibid, pl. XXXIV, fig. I.22.
[196]*JISOA*, vol. X, pp. 94f.
[197]VIII. 2.48, p. 418.23.
[198]Saundaran, IV.16.
[199]V.S. Agrawala, *Guide to the Lucknow Museum*, no. J 278.
[200]*Further Excavations at Mahenjodaro*, p. 542.
[201]Op. cit., p. 39.
[202]IV.1.52, p. 22.17.
[203]I.1.1, p. 42.16.
[204]III.1.112, p. 85.12.
[205]II.2.25, p. 427.10.
[206]IV.1.44, p. 217.10.
[207]II.4.62, p. 492.8f.
[208]VI.1.2, p. 7.6.
[209]V.2.94, p. 393.19.
[210]IV.1.116, p. 258.2.
[211]III.1.124, p. 88.7.
[212]II.3.62, p. 466.10.
[213]XIII. 6067, *Manu.*, XI.171.179.
[214]VI. 3.34, p. 150.3.
[215]VII. 3.45, p. 326.8.
[216]*Sanchi*, vol. I, p. 259,
[217]I.1.50, p. 123.3. Pāṇini refers to *Samājya* (III.3.99) explained as a place where people flocked together. He also refers to *Samavāya* (IV. 4.43).
[218]III.1.26, p. 39.15.
[219]I.4.26, p. 329.8.
[220]II.1,69, p. 403.22.
[221]Op. cit.
[222]Vol. III, p. 442.7.
[223]pp. 53.22, 630.27, 936.26.

[224]VI.3.42, p. 152.16.
[225]Barua, *Bhārhut*, figs. 34, 39, 62 ; 95a, XXX.27.
[226]*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 31 and ref.
[227]IV.3.11.
[228]VII.3.87, p. 331,23-24.
[229]IV.2.66, p. 286.18.
[230]*EI*, vol, I. p. 399, no. 18.
[231]Barua, op. cit., figs. 34, 69, 139.
[232]II.2.34, p. 435.11.
[233]IV.4 55, p. 332.5.
[234]p. 66.
[235]IV. 4.55, p. 332.9.
[236]*Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 316.
[237]Cunningham, op. cit., pls. XXVIII.4; XXVI.4.
[238]Ibid., pl. XVI, fig. 1, 15.1.
[239]Barua, op. cit., fig. 56.
[240]Ibid., Pl' XVI, p. 91.
[241]Barua, op. cit., fig. 6, 8a, 182 and
[242]*Saddh. Puṇḍ.*, II.91; chap. III, p. 75.
[243]I I.4.47, p. 181.18.
[244]VIII.1.7, p. 370.1.
[245]III 2.124, p. 125.17.
[246]I.4.2, p. 125, 310.4.
[247]II.1.40, p. 390.26.
[248]*Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 2 and ref.
[249]*Vinaya*, III. 47; *Milindapañho*, p. 114; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 169 etc.
[250]II.1.16, p. 376.19.
[251]II.1.69, p. 404.13.
[252]II.1.5, p. 393.20.
[253]II.1.1, p. 365.1.
[254]V.2.76, p. 387.15.
[255]II.1.40, p. 390.1.
[256]III.2.84, p. 111.23.
[257]VI.4,174, p. 234.11.
[258]IV.2.40, p. 170.2.
[259]V.9.107, p. 397.9.
[260]I.1.1, p. 3.8.
[261]I.1.4, p. 25.10.
[262]I.1.57, p. 145.24.

Chapter 5

Economic Life

The information furnished by the *Mahābhāṣya* about the economic life of the people is copious. People seem to have been prosperous, their demands ever increasing, with a fair amount of planning in economic enterprise. There is, however, no reference to guilds, or union of persons with identical interests, but Patañjali mentions a good many economic professions. Land was, of course, the primary source of livelihood, but people were interested in other types of avocations as well. Perilous journeys —inland and overseas—were undertaken by traders pointing to the wide and varied sphere covered by the economic activities of the people. Several types of coins served as the medium of exchange and proper weights and measures ensured fuller satisfaction to the buyer. In this connection, it is interesting to mention the means of communication and transportation, with particular reference to the types of carriages caravans and other vehicles mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

Professions

The economic occupations may be classified as follows: those relating to the artisan class, workers in metal, masons and architects, domestic servants, cooks and confectioners, wild professions, manual labourers and low professions. These exclude those relating to land, and merchandise which have to be considered separately.

(a) *Artisan class*: Patañjali refers to five types of artisans in a village, popularly known as *Pañcakāruki*[1], who, according to Uddyota, were *kulāla*—potter, *karmāra*—an artificer or blacksmith, *vardhakin*—carpenter, *nāpita*—barber, and *rajaka*, known as washerman. They are also noticed separately in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The potter, whose profession dates back to the Vedic times[2], made different kinds of pots out of a lump of clay (*piṇḍākṛtim upamṛdya ghaṭikā kivante*[3]—*anayor mṛtpindayor ghaṭam*

kurvīti).[4] He was also known as *kumbhakāra* or *mahākumbhāra*[5] with a bigger establishment. Pots were available in his house called *kumbhakārakuam* (*ghaṭena kāryam kariṣyan kumbhakāra-kulam gatvā*).[6] *Karmāra* was a mechanic, though the term sometimes suggested a blacksmith with an old standing.[7] Patañjali distinguishes the two, and he mentions *ayaskāra*[8] and *lohakāra*[9] separately. They are classed as *śilpin* who received daily wages, unlike the *daśakarmakāra* working on food and clothing only (*bhaktam celam ca*).[10] The carpenter is specified by the term *vardhakin*, different from *takṣa*; his work *takṣakarman*[11] is mentioned by Patañjali. This profession also dates back to the Vedic period.[12] The *kauṭatakṣa*[13] of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, unlike the *vardhakin*, worked at home on his own account and not for a village or corporation. His position is explained in the *Kaśikā*[14] (*svatantraḥ karmajivi na kaśyacit pratibaddha ity arthaḥ*). *Nāpita*, the village barber, and *rajaka*, the washerman, were indispensable in the economic life of the village. It is probable that the latter was also dyeing clothes (*rañjayati vastrāṇi*).[15]

(b) *Workers in metal*: These included goldsmiths, popularly known as *suvarnakāra*[16] who could make different kinds of ornaments out of a lump of gold (*suvarṇam kayācid ākrityā yuktam piṇḍo bhavati*).[17] This profession seems to be in a flourishing condition in that period, as we find profuse use of ornaments in sculptures. The blacksmith, known as *lohakāra*, or *ayaskāra*, is mentioned separately by Patañjali. He was engaged in making things of domestic use, like needles used for sewing clothes (*tīkṣaṇayā sūcya sīvyan*); and arms (*tīkṣṇena paraśunā vṛścan*).[18] There is no reference to silversmith or *rajatakāra*, and coppersmith (*tāmra-kuṭṭa*) in the *Mahābhāṣya* but their existence in the economic life can hardly be questioned.

(c) *Masons and architects*: To this profession belonged the *nagarakāra*,[19] or the city architect who probably supervised the construction of buildings, or actually took part in laying bricks, one finds in the Jetavana monastery scene in Bhārhut sculptures,[20] where the foundation is filled with golden pieces. Patañjali also refers to the *kūpa-khānaka*, or well digger, bestrewed with dust in the process of digging and removing earth (*kūpakhānkaḥ kūpam khanan yady'apimṇḍ pamsubhis ca avakīarṇo bhavati*).[21]

(d) *Domestic servants*: These were generally engaged by rich people and included *dāsakarmakāra* who was engaged on food and clothing (*dāsakarmakāra nāmaite'pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante bhaktam celam ca lapsyāmahe*).[22] *Kimkarā*[23] was a female servant, probably required for household work. Some others were needed for domestic purposes, as for example, *dvārapāla*—porter, *chattradhāra*—canopy-holder, *bhāravāha*[24]—a carrier or porter, *ghaṭagrāha*[25]—the water bearer or carrier, and *bhrāṣtriamîndha*[26]—the frier or cook, who sometimes kept his own shop, and provided fried things.

(e) *Cooks and Confectioners*: These included the frier, working in his independent capacity and selling fried barley (*bharujā*)[27] or grain. The confectioners sold articles of daily consumption with reference to drinks and cakes. The *māthitika*—selling whey (*māthitam paṇyam asya māthitika*),[28] and *apūpika*)[29]—dealing in baked cakes or pastries called *śaṣkulī*, and *maudakika*[30] selling sweets could be particularised in this group. These professions were not identical. According to the *Mahāvastu*,[31] the sweet-meat dealers (*modakārakāḥ*) and curd makers (*dadhikāh*) had separate guilds (*śreṇī*). Certain other professions, connected with food, were those of grinders of food grain (*śaktukārḥ*), and winnowers of grain (*taṇḍulika*).[32] The former is only indirectly referred to in the *Mahābhāsya*,[33] but the profession was very important and had a guild of its own in later times.[34]

(f) *Wild professions*: Though not actually wild in nature, this group included professions like those of fishermen (*niṣāda*),[35] also called *kaivarta* or ferrymen (*niṣādo mārgavam sūte dāsam naukarma jīvinam*),[36] fowlers (*śākunika*)[37] and certain others—*śākulika*, *mātsvika mainika* and *śāphrika*[38]—all meaning fishermen. The *mainika* was so called, because he was engaged in catching fishes (*mînām hanti mainikaḥ*). These professions are noticed in earlier[39] and later literatures.[40]

(g) *Low professions*: The low professions, included those of the mat-maker who fastened together through string, wooden pegs and straw (*samnaddham raijukīlaka pūlapāṇim*);[41] weaver (*tantuvāva*) who could make cloth from threads (*asya sūtrassa śāṭakam vayeti*),[42] and hair-weaver (*vālavāya*).[43] Another term *sāmmātra*),[44] meaning a measurer's son, appears to be of an

administrative nature having nothing to do with any economic profession.

It is difficult to make a cut-and-dried classification of the economic professions. There were certainly many more than are actually mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*. One can hardly deny that some of these had their guilds or corporate organisations which existed in earlier times and are also traced in later literature.[45]

Agriculture and Husbandry

Agricultural process has hardly undergone any change, despite political turmoils through the ages. The data, furnished by the *Mahābhāṣya*, might not suggest innovations, but some interesting details are worth mentioning, like, different types of land, method of sowing, agricultural implements, seeds and crops, grain storage and other miscellaneous items. Husbandry, allied to agriculture, may also be considered here.

(a) *Agricultural holdings*: The arable land was called *kṣetra*, an old Vedic term pointing to the existence of individual fields, carefully measured off, and fit for cultivation.[47] Another word, mentioned by Patañjali is *keḍara*,[48] noticed earlier in the *Aṣṭādhyāyî*[49] which was a field under water, as suggested by Manu.[50] The Sūtrakāra distinguishes barren land (*ūṣara*) from pasture land (*gocara*)[51] but Patañjali has mentioned only the latter one. The area brought under cultivation was known as *halyā* or *sîtyā*.[52] The ordinary cultivator or agriculturist was called *lāngalagraha*.[53] The Bhāṣyakāra also refers to the general desire for good fields (*sukṣetrîya*).[54] The *Mahābhāṣya* also mentions the employment of agricultural labour, which enabled the cultivator to relax himself, and do only supervision work (*ekānte tūṣnīm āsîna ucyate pañcabhir halaiḥ kṛṣati iti*).[55]

(b) *Preparations and methods of sowing*: Before the actual sowing of the seed, the field was properly ploughed. This was done through oxen, which were also used in carts (*gotaro'yam yah śakaṭam vahati sīram ca*).[56] The plough was called *sīra*. The stumps in the ground were weeded out by a hoe, known as *stambaghna*.[57] It was necessary to remove the weeds (*tṛṇa*), thorns and stones, before the actual ploughing of the land. The required number of ploughs depended on the fertility of the

land, and its dimensions; the maximum noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*, is five (*pañcabhir halaiḥ*). After the ploughing of the land, the next stage was the sowing of the seeds, which, naturally, varied according to crops and seasons. Pāṇini refers to different types of fields according to crops, as for example, a barley field was called *yavyam* (*yayanām bhavanam kṣetram yavyam*), that of beans (*māṣyam*), and sesamum (*tilyam*).[58] Patañjali does not distinguish them. As regards the required quantity of seeds for sowing, the *Kāśikā* refers to *prāsthikam*, *drauṇikam* and *khārīkam*[49] fields, that is, those requiring one *prastha*, *droṇa* or *khārī* weights of seed; but, according to Patañjali, there were fields requiring a hundred *khāri* (*khāraśatika*) or a thousand worth of seeds (*khārasahasrikā*).[60] Sesamum (*tila*) and beans (*māṣa*) were mixed together in the process of sowing (*tilaiḥ saha māṣam vapati iti*).[61] It was also customary to sow seeds on an auspicious day (*āśvayujī Paurṇamāsī*)[62], though this fact is not mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

After the sowing of the seeds, periodical supply of water was required for the fields. This was done through canals (*śālyartham kulyāḥ praṇīyante*)[63], as it was not unsual to expect drought in that village (*vigatāḥ secakā asmād grāmād visecako grāmaḥ*).[64] The crop was expected to be good, if there was adequate rainfall (*devaśced vṛṣto niṣpannāḥ śālayaḥ*).[65]

Ripening and Reaping

Some crops ripened early, but others took time. Beans ripened (*pacelimā māṣāh*),[66] but another type took sixty days (*mudgā api ṣaṣtirātreṇa pacyante*).[67] The standing crop also needed protection from animals, as well as from robbers. Danger was apprehended for the barley crop from deer (*na ca mṛigaḥ santîti yava nopyante*),[68] and so there was the need for an observer (*cāvaka*).[69] A shadow figure, made of straw (*cāncābhirūpaḥ*)[70], was placed in the field to frighten crows and birds, causing destruction to crops. Other dangers were from mole (*ākhu*), locust (*śalabha*) and hawk (*śyena*).[71] When the crop was ready, reaping or cutting (*lavaṇa*) with a sickle (*dātra*)[72] was the next step. The reaper was called *lāvaka*,[73] an agricultural labourer employed on terms which are not mentioned, but probably receiving about 1/16 of the produce as his share. The over-ripened grain, requiring immediate attention is alluded to

in the Pāṇinian rule III.1.125 by the word *lavya*. Patañjali mentions *avaśyalāvyam* and *avaśyapāvyam*,[74] probably, in a different sense. Reaping and mowing seem to be connected. After the cutting of the standing crop, the produce was stored on the threshing floor (*khala*)[75] for being mowed, which was followed by another process called *nispāva*.[76] A winnowing fan (*śūrpa*)[77] was used by the winnower (*taṇḍulika*) who might have been an agricultural labourer, employed for the purpose of separating the grain from the chaff. Farmers kept their threshing floors close by in mutual interest.

Storing

The grain was separated from the chaff, and stored in a granary, called *koṣṭha* or *kuśūla*.[78] Both Pāṇini and Patañjali mention these agricultural operations with iittle difference in expression. The latter, in his comment on the *tiṣṭhādgvādi* Sūtra, refers to *khaleyavam khalebusam lūnayam lūyamanāyavam pūtayavam pūyamānayavam*.[79] In sequence of time, during the performance of these operations, *lūnayavam* should come first, and the compound indicates the time when barley was reaped, or was in the process of being reaped (*lūyamānayavam*). The second compound, mentioned as first, suggests the storing of the barley crop, or barley straw (*khālebusam*), on the threshing floor; and lastly the separation of the corn from the straw already done, or in the process of being done (*pūtayavam pūvamānayavam*).

Grain was stored in jars, and a person, so doing for a specific period, was called *kūmbhîdhānya*.[80] A good crop was an indication of the prosperous time ahead which could be found out from a single grain of rice (*eko vrīhiḥ saṃpannaḥ subhikṣam karoti.*)[81] Certain crops were associated with definite parts of the country, as for example, barley was particularly grown in the lands of Uśīnara and Mādra (*Uśînaravanmadreṣu yavaḥ*),[82] and Magadha was famous for *sāli* or rice (*tān eva śālin bhuñjāmahe ye magadheśu*).[83]

Other Crops

Besides barley, rice, pulses, and sesamum, which may be called *kṛṣṭapacya*—ripening in arable land, there were other crops depending exclusively on nature without human enterprise (*akṛṣṭapacvā*).[84] The latter class, probably, included

nîvāra·wild rice which is not mentioned by Patañjali, but is referred to by Aśvaghoṣa, as the only food for ascetics. Sugar-cane (*īkṣu*),[86] cotton (*kārpāsa*)[87] flax (*umā*), and hemp (*bhaṅga*)[88] were also grown.

Husbandry

This economic undertaking is associated with land. The person, rearing or in charge of cattle, was known as *gopa* or *gopāla* in the Vedic period.[89] These terms indicate that only cows were reared for milking purpose. The *Mahābhāṣya* provides details regarding different kinds of cows, the method of controlling them when they were out for grazing, and their *śālās* or stables. *Gopālaka*[90] and *govallava*,[91] probably synonymous, are mentioned by Patañjali. One possessing brindled cows was known as *citragu*, and the owner of mottled ones was called *śabalagu*[92] *Paśupālika* or *gopālika*[93] are the two words suggesting women tending cows. The keeper controlled them through a staff (*goyūtham eka daṇḍa praghaṭṭam sarvam samam ghoṣam gacchati*).[94] There are also references to cow stable (*gogoṣṭham gavām sthānam*), and sheep stable (*avi-goṣṭham*).[96] A flock of sheep was known as *avikaṭa*, and the owner was required to pay tribute or tax consisting of a ram to the king which was called *avikaṭoraṇa*.[96] *Gomaṇḍala*[97] is used to denote the herd of cows, and *goprapadanîyam*[98] indicated the time of their returning home. Patañjali mentions *gopa* as a special *jāti*[99] or class. There is no reference to the time of milking cows, nor to the duties of the *gopa* who was expected to look after the scattered cows, and to prevent them from trespassing upon cornfields, as are noticed by Aśvaghoṣa.[100]

Merchandise

This aspect of economic life necessitates consideration of the data relating to the sale of goods, trade stipulations, if any, vendible commodities, earnest money and consideration, shops and markets, import and export of trade, sale of prohibited articles and medium of exchange and barter. The general rule of conduct in business transactions is suggested by the word *vyavahāra*[101] signifying a contract, but it is better to take its usage in a general sense. *Paṇya*[102] is the proper word for a vendible article. The market place was called *āpaṇa*,[103] and the dealer

was known as *ā-paṇika*.[104] Generally the merchants were named after the things exposed by them for sale, as for instance, a perfume seller was called *sugandhapaṇika*. Pāṇini mentions traders, deriving their professional designations from the places visited by them (*gantavyapaṇyam vāṇija*).[105] Another word, probably suggesting a market place, is *samvāha*.[106] Since it is associated with *grāma*, *ghoṣa* and *nagara*, one is not very sure about its correct meaning. The business men had shops, facing the main street, as appears from an indirect reference (*atha yadā anena rathyāyām taṇḍulodakam dṛṣṭaḥ*)[107]. There was a closer link between the village and the town for commercial purposes (*loke'dhikṛto'sau grāme' dhikrito'sau nagara iti ucyate yo yatra vyāpāram gacchati*[108]).

Trade Stipulations

The display of an article made it vendible (*krayya*).[109] The standard of quality was also ensured, as for example, a woollen blanket conformed to the set standard (*paṇyakambala*).[110] Negotiations necessary between the vendor and the vendee were called *paṇitavyaḥ*;[111] and the price, fixed in terms of coins or other things, actually fluctuated with the demand and supply, as well as with the quality of the thing. The *Mahābhāṣya* mentions the sale of rice (*dhānya*) for two *droṇas* (*dvidroṇena dhānyam krīṇāti*), cattle for five *droṇas* (*pañcakena paśūn krīṇati*), and rice again for two gold pieces (*dvidroṇena hiranyeṇa dhānyam krîṇāti*).[112] Things were also sold by weight, as suggested by the word *dviśūrpam*, that is, containing two *śūrpas*, or winnowing baskets with reference to purchases (*dvābhvām sūrpābhyām krītam dvisūrpam*.[113] A transaction was completed (*satyāpayati*),[114] with the payment of the earnest money (*satyamkāra*)[115] to the seller. There is no reference to the inspection of goods in the *Mahābhāṣya*, as we notice in a later work.[116] Probably it was a formal affairs, preceding the opening of negotiations which were arranged through a middle man. His share is hinted by the word *vasna*, used in Vedic literature[117] in the sense of 'price paid for anything', or 'its value', or 'the thing as an object of purchase or ware'. Its implication is considered by Pāṇini in three Sūtras which suggest 'value' or 'sale price realised', as its meaning. In the first Sūtra '*vasnakravavikrayāṭṭhan*,[118] *vasnika* is distinguished from

krāyika or *vikrayika*; the former, according to the *Kāśikā*,[119] depended on *vasna* for his living (*vasnena jīvati*). It appears that *vasnika* was, probably, a broker or an agent, who brought about the deal between the vendor and the vendee, and, when the sale price was realised, he was entitled to his share which varied according to the proceeds of the sale. The presence of the third party in a transaction ensured security to the seller for his money, and to the buyer for the quality of goods purchased.

Articles of Trade

Vendible articles were many including the imported ones. Besides his own produce, the vendor also displayed for sale other things connected with his trade. It would mean a long list to enumerate them, but the important ones excluding the food products may be mentioned here, as for instance, fabrics of silk (*kauśeva*),[120] wool (*ūrṇa*),[121] flax (*umā*), hemp (*bhaṅga*),[122] cotton (*kārpāśa*),[123] cloth (*vastra*),[124] blankets of a set standard (*paṇva kambala*),[125] white woollen garment (*pāṇḍu kambala*),[126] deer skin (*ajina*),[127] dye stuff (*rāga*),[128] and sandals and shoes (*aupānahyam dāruaupānāhyam carma*).[129] Other vendible things needed for professional or domestic use were: iron chains for binding (*sṛṅkhalā*),[130] agricultural implements, like, sickle (*dātra*)[131] and property utensils for storing ghee which were available at the house of the potter.[132] Intoxicating drinks were sold in bars (*śuṇḍā*),[133] and articles of perfumery (*gandha*)[134] and garland (*mālā*)[135] were available either in shops or on streets from vendors. Weights (*māna*) and measures (*parimāna*),[136] vehicles of communication like cart (*śakaṭa*), chariot (*ratha*), and boat (*nau*),[137] were also vendible. Even gold images did not escape the greed of Mauryas, who were anxious to get money out of them, despite their sacred character, as noticed in Patañjali's comment on the Sūtra *Jīvikārthe cāpaṇve* (*Maurvair hiranvarthibhir arcā prakalpitaḥ*).[138] Such a thing might have been done under exceptional circumstances, but one can hardly deny that payments had to be made for gold images. Even now idols can be purchased, but once they are set up in a temple, their sacred character cannot be violated, and a Brāhmaṇa would prefer to starve rather than part with his idol. Patañjali has not commented on the Sūtra

Gantavvapaṇyam vāṇije (VI.2.13) which is illustrated in the *Kāsikā* by merchants dealing in cows and bulls (*govānijāḥ* and horses (*aśva vānijāḥ*).[139] Ornaments and musical instruments were probably made to order, and some were probably displayed in the shop windows. The sale of certain articles was prohibited, as for example, beef could not be sold, nor was the sale of sesamum allowed, but that of mustard oil was permitted (*vathā tarhi tailam na vikretavvam mānsam na vikretavvam iti vyapavriktas ca virkṛvate'vy apavṛktam ca gāvas uca sarṣapās ca vikriyante*).[140]

An organised planning in the economic field could only be possible through the medium of exchange, so that people could have complete satisfaction in their requirements. In certain cases barter was also possible, as in the rural economy, where one product was exchanged for another. The thing given in exchange was called *nimāna*,[141] and the one received for it, *nimeya*.[142] Commenting on the Sūtra *Samkhyāyā guṇasya nimāne mayaṭ* (V.2.47), which refers to the affixing of *mayaṭ* to numerical standing for the value of some part of a thing denoting another thing, Patañjali refers to the guiding principle in all barter transactions, namely, the invariable nature of the ratio. The valuation was determined on the basis of one portion of *nimeya* (the thing to be brought) with several portions of *nimāna* (the thing to be given in exchange). It is inapplicable in the case of *dvau yayānām traya udaśvit iti*,[143] nor can the ratio apply to fractions, but only to an integral number, as for example, its inapplicability in the illustration —*dvau bhāgau yavānām adhyardha udaśvitaḥ*.[144] The comparative value of the thing has to be taken into consideration for the application of the *mayaṭ* affix, like, *dvimayā yavā udaśvitaḥ*[145] which suggests that the exchange value of *udaśvit* was twice as much as that of a *yava*. The *mayaṭ* affix also indicates time or fold—as *dvimavā*,[146] sometimes qualifying the *nimāna* and sometimes the *nimeya*.

Barter transactions at that time were not confined to ordinary things of human need, but the principle extended even to bigger transactions. Both Pāṇini and Patañjali, have referred to *vasanārṇam* and *kambalārṇam*[147] pointing to the loan for a cloth of standard size, or that for a blanket of standard quality. The transactions relating to purchase and sale of animals were

also arranged through barter, as for instance, *pañcabhir gobhiḥ kṛtaḥ pañcayuḥ.*[148] One also finds a curious illustration of the purchase of a chariot for five *kroṣṭrīs* (*pañcabhiḥ kroṣṭribhiḥ kṛtaih rathaiḥ pañcakroṣṭribhi rathair iti*).[149] It is difficult to assess the value of a female jackal, unless the word *kroṣṭrī* meant something valuable to be given in barter for a chariot. There are also references to measures of capacity which, when used in barter, had affixes denoting quantity, as for example, *dvi-śūrpa* or *tri-śūrpa.*[150] Patañjali refers to three persons in a transaction—the person who gives, the other who takes, and the third who watches the transaction (*tribhiḥ sākṣād driṣṭam bhavati yaś ca dadāti yasmai ca diyate yaś ca upadraṣṭā*).[151]

Coinage

The comment on the Ārhīya section[152] refers to different types of coins. Most of these were in use in that period, and some could trace their origin to the Vedic times. The need for coins of different denominations and metals was to meet the economic pressure. Those mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* include: *niṣka, śatamāna, suvarṇa, śāṇa, kārṣāpaṇa* with its lower denominations—*ardha* or half, *pāda*—a quarter, *māṣa* with still lower denominations—*ardhamāṣa, kākiṇī* and *ardhakākiṇī*; and *rūpa* which may have been a coin or a figure or symbol stamped on a coin. The value of *niṣka*, a gold coin with a long history,[153] was never uniform. It equalled a *dīnāra*, of 32 small or 16 large *rattīs*, or a *kārṣa* or *suvarṇa* of 16 *māṣas*, or a *pala* of 4 or 5 *suvarṇas*, or a large *pala* or *dināra*, variously reckoned at 108 or 150 *suvarṇas* or *māṣas* or 16 drammas. It was also a weight of silver of 4 *suvarṇas.*[154] Patañjali uses the word *naiṣkika* in the sense of deserving a *niṣka*, as for instance, one deserving a hundred was called *śatikaḥ* and a thousand *sāhasrah.*[155] The individual wealth was also reckoned in terms of this coin (*na hi niṣkadhanaḥ śataniṣkadhanena spardhate*).[156] The quarter, known as *pādaniṣka*[157] is also mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya.*

The next coin *śatamāna* is noticed by Patañjali in his comment on the Sūtra *vibhāṣa kārṣāpaṇasahasrābhyām*,[158] which refers to the optional elision of *luk* after the words *karṣāpaṇa* and *sahasra. Suvarṇa* and *śatamāna* are also added when they are preceded by *adhyardha*, or they are members of

a *dvigu* compound : like, *adhyardhaśatamānam, dviśatamānam.* The metal or value of this coin is not known, but, according to Manu,[159], it was a denomination of silver (*śatamānas tu rajataḥ*). The position of *suvarṇa*, mentioned in the same context, is equally doubtful. It was a coin, as well as a denomination of weight equal to 80 *guñjas* or 146 grains, according to Kauṭilya;[160] and required an additional *kākiṇī* (one-fourth *māṣa*) metal, to be added to it, as against loss in manufacture. In the time of Manu, a *suvarṇa* was one-fourth of a *niṣka* (*catuḥ suvarṇako niṣka vijñeyas tu pramānataḥ*).[161]

A coin of lower denomination in ratio to *śatamāna* was *śāṇa*[162] which, according to the evidence of the *Mahābhārata*, was 1/8 of the latter (*aṣṭau śānaḥ śatamānam vahanti*) [163] It appears that *niṣka* and *suvarṇa* were gold coins, while *śatamāna* and *śāṇa* were probably of silver, as suggested by Manu. The copper coins in circulation were of different denominations

Kārṣāpaṇa was the most popular coin of different values. It was, probably, the standard money and its denominational value was implied in phrases like *śatena krītam śatyam śātakaśatam iti*[164] and *aikādaśam śatsahasram iti.*[165] According to Manu, it was synonymous with *paṇa* (*kārṣāpaṇas tu vijñeyas tāmrikaḥ kārṣikaḥ paṇaḥ*).[166] Its other name is *prati* or *pratīka*, meaning 'purchased of a *kārṣāpaṇa*' (*kārṣāpaṇikaḥ kārṣāpaṇiki pratīkaḥ pratiki*).[167] The metal of this coin was not only copper, as mentioned by Manu, but it could also be of silver,[168] or black metal (iron or lead).[169] Its value or weight differed according to the nature of the metal (if of gold 16 *māṣas*, of silver 16 *paṇas*; and of copper 80 *raktikas* or 176 grains).[170] Numismatics use this term to denote Punch-marked coins. Its lower denominations were – *ardha kārṣāpaṇa*,[171] and *pāda*,[172] the quarter one which was distinct from a *pādaniṣka*.[173] Kauṭilya[174] also mentions a token coin—*aṣṭabhāga*—1/8 of a *kārṣāpaṇa* in value. Cunningham had suggested that the tail-end of the *kārṣāpaṇa* coins was limited to half and quarter size only.

Māṣa, as a *parimāṇa* or weight,[176] is distinguished from the type of pulse known by that name, and it is associated with *akṣa* and *pāda*, the two other words denoting measures. Kauṭilya has classed[177] it as a copper coin, being 1/16 of a *kārṣāpaṇa* in value, with its lower denominations—*ardhamāṣa* which is also noticed in the Jātakas.[178] There were still lower

denominations like *kākiṇī* and *ardhakākiṇī*. The latter is not directly referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but its use can be inferred from the reference to *adhvardhakākiṇikam*,[179] that is, one and a half *kākiṇī*. Rhys Davids suggested[180] that the monetary value of a *kākaṇikā* may be guessed at being 1/8 of a *kahāpaṇa*, as it occurs in a descending order where each succeeding coin marks half the value of the preceding one, that is, *kahāpaṇa aḍḍha, pāda, māsaka, kākaṇika*, followed by *mudhā* 'for nothing'. It appears that these lower denominations were both coins and weights.

The finds of silver and copper punch-marked coins have testified to the use of these coins, and the correctness of their weight as recorded in literature; but the total absence of gold coins is a strange phenomenon. These silver and copper coins are classified by Allan,[181] and class 2 coins of his catalogue are ½ *kārṣāpaṇa* of an Indian standard, the usual weight varying between 25 and 26 grains; but those of class 3, presumably from a different part of India, are 2-3 grains higher than coins belonging to the preceding class. A single and double *kārṣāpaṇa* coins, belonging to class IV type are not generalized for want of adequate specimens. The quarter *kārṣāpaṇas*, known as *pādika*, are of a heavier standard weighing 14.4 and 14.9 grains, a slightly above Cunningham's theoretical *pādika* of 14.4 grains. He contended that the greater majority of silver coins of Ancient India were full *kārṣāpaṇas*, halves and quarters being much rarer. Very small square coins (class 9), weighing from 2-3 gains are 1/16 *kārṣāpaṇas* or *kṛsaṇalas*. Allan found it difficult to generalize on the basis of their weights, as they are not struck or cast so carefully, and secondly because of their depreciation in course of time; but attempt was made in this direction by Durga Prasad.[182] According to his contention, *kārṣāpaṇas* weighed 80 *rattīs* or 144 grains, but silver *kārṣāpaṇas*, of equal value namely 32 *rattis* of weight were also minted, and called *raupyakārṣāpaṇa*. He also noticed two varieties of copper *kārṣāpaṇas* which are rare; and *ardhas*, *padas*, *trimśakas dvimāṣakas* and *māṣakas* of copper and silver were in his personal cabinet.

Vimśatika and *trimśatika*, mentioned by Patañjali,[183] can also be placed in this group. It is contended[184] that the two words refer to different types of coins – the former being of 100

rattīs of copper and 40 *rattīs* of silver; and the latter weighing 60 *rattīs*. The evidence from the *Mahābhāṣya* is cited to show that in times past, sixteen *māṣas* made one *kārṣāpaṇa*, and sixteen *palas* (*phalas*) made one *māṣasamvatyaḥ* (*purākalpa etad āsīt ṣoḍaśamāṣāh kārṣāpaṇam ṣoḍaṣa palaś ca māṣa samvatyaḥ*).[185] This implication meant that a teacher was considering a *paṇa* of sixteen *māṣas* as absolute and was probably acquainted with a *kārṣāpaṇa* of twenty *māṣas* in some locality. It was, therefore, suggested that the 16 *māṣaka*, as well as, the 20 *māṣaka kārṣāpaṇas* were in circulation at the same time. This suggestion cannot be accepted unless sufficient coins of these denominations are available to form a sound opinion on this matter.

Rūpa: The Sūtra *Rūpadāhataprasaṃsayoryap*,[186] meaning the affix *yap* comes in the sense of a *matup* after the word *rūpa* when *āhata* (stamping) and *praśaṃsā* (praise) are denoted, possibly refers to another type of coin. At another place Patañjali, mentions *rūpatarka* examining a *kārṣāpaṇa* (*paśyati rūpatarkaḥ kārṣāpaṇam*).[187] It seems that he was the same as *rūpadarśaka* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*,[188] but D. R. Bhandarkar, citing *Mahāsopîna Jātaka* suggested[189] that the word indicated the coin which, was the subject of examination, though its exact denomination is unknown. This word should be differentiated from *rūpya*, which, as an adjective, may mean any type of coin with a figure (*rūpa*) stamped on it. In fact, according to the *Kāśikā*, *dīnāra*, *kedara and kārṣāpaṇa* had symbols impressed on them by means of striking a punch, and this process was called *āhata* (*āhatam rūpam asa rūpyo rūpyaḥ kedāraḥ rūppam kārṣāpaṇam*).[190] It is doubtful, if the gold coins were stamped, because the punch-marked coins are confined to silver and copper alone, and this type of coin, according to Allan,[191] was the sole silver currency of a certain period. It may, however, be assumed that *rūpa* was another type of coin, the metal being unknown, while *rūpya* denoted the stamping of the punches on coins.

Weights and Measures

In the *Mahābhāṣya* there are many references to different kinds of weights and measures, which were, probably, in use in that period. According to Patañjali, the weights never varied one

way or the other (*droṇaḥ khārvadhakam iti naivādhike bhayanti na nyūne*).[192] They were uniformly used, as for instance, oil and ghee could be weighed in *khārī*, as well as, in *droṇa* (*tailam ghritam iti khārvām api bhavanti drone'pi*).[193] The weights included: *āḍhaka*, *droṇa* and *khārī* in ascending order, besides a few minor ones. The former was $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *droṇa*, equivalent to 16 *kuḍavas* or nearly 7 lbs. 10 ozs. in weight. *Droṇa* was four times in weight to the *āḍhaka*, but *khārī* was a measure of grain =16 *droṇas* or about 3 bushels. Grain weighing one *khārī* was enough for being sown in a limited plot of land.

Other weights mentioned are: *pala*,[194] *māṣa*,[195] *kārṣāpaṇa*,[196] *kuḍava*,[197] and *sūrpa*. Their weights and relations to one another are mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*,[198] and in the *Manu*[199] and *Yājñavalkya*[200] Smṛtis. According to Manu, five *krṣṇalas* or *raktikas* made one *māṣa* (bean) and sixteen of these made one *suvarṇa*; four *suvarṇas* were equivalent to a *pala* or *niṣka* and 10 *palas* made a *dhāraṇas* of gold. The above ratio was applied to gold and copper only. For silver, 2 *krṣṇalas* or *raktikas* = 1 *māṣa*; 16 *māṣas* = 1 *dhāraṇa* or *pūraṇa* and 10 *dhāraṇas* = 1 *śatamāna* (*pala*). A *kārṣa* of copper was a *kārṣāpaṇa* or *paṇa*. The weights have been analysed by several scholars,[201] on the basis of these original sources. According to these sources, a *māṣa* weighed about 17 grains, the silver *kārṣāpaṇa* was equivalent to 16 *paṇas* or 1280 *kowries*, but the copper one equalled 80 *raktikas* or about 176 grains.

Kuḍava and *śūrpa* were other denominations of weight. The former was a measure of grain or of wood or of iron etc. equivalent to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *prastha*. It is described as a measure of capacity also, containing 12 *prakṛitis* or handfuls in a vessel four fingers wide and as many deep.[202] This weight is noticed in the *Mahābhārata*,[203] as well as in Sanskrit Buddhist literature. *Śūrpa* was a measure of two *droṇas*. Patañjali mentions *adhyardha śūrpa*,[204] which shows that there was room for a fractional weight also. Patañjali has also referred to *tailamātra* and *ghṛtamātra*[205] which imply that there were certain pots for measuring ghee and oil, but their capacity is unknown.

Measurements: These refer to time and space, and include *akṣa*, *pada*,[206] *arathi*,[207] *prādeśa*,[208] *vitasti* and *dioṭi*.[209] The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and *Manusmṛti* furnish detailed information on these as well.[210] *Akṣa* was equivalent to 104 *aṅgulas*,

pāda was 12 or 15 fingres in breadth or $\frac{1}{2}$-$\frac{1}{3}$ or 2/7 of a *prakrama*,[211] and it is noticed in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[212] also. *Arattni* was a cubit of the middle length from the elbow to the tip of the middle length. *Prādeśa* was a measure of 12 *aṅguals* and it covered the span of the thumb and fore-finger.[213] *Vitasti* was a particular measure of length, defined either as a long span between the external thumb and the little finger, or as the distance between the wrist and the tip of the fingers, said to be 12 *aṅgulas* or about 9 inches. It was also a Vedic measure mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Gṛhya Śūtra*.[214]

We have already referred to different types of weights mentioned by Kauṭilya and Manu. They have noticed several kinds of measurements and their proportions to one another. According to Kauṭilya,[215] 12 *aṅgulas* equalled 1 *vitasti*; 2 *vitasti*=1 *aratni*; 192 *aṅgulas* = 1 *daṇḍa*, 10 *daṇḍa* = 1 *rajju*; and 2 *rajju* = 1 *parideśa*. Patañjali also refers to *rajju*[216] or rope, and *yojana* which, according to Kauṭilya, equalled 4 *krośas*.

Labour

It is another economic phenomenon which needs consideration. Patañjali refers to a labourer working on five, six or ten coins (*pañcakmāsikah, satkmāsikah* and *daśakamāsikaḥ*),[218] probably *kārṣāpaṇa* a month. There is another reference to a servant working, until the cow, promised as his wages, was given to him. He was known as *āgavānaḥ karmakāraḥ*).[219] Sometimes the labourers worked in a team, and the physical incapacity of one did not stand in the way (*yo'yam durbolaḥ san balavadbhiḥ saha bharom vahati*).[220] Clever workers were known as *uṣṇaka* and lazy ones were called *sîtako* (*yaḥ sītam karoti sa sītako yo yosṇam karoti sa usṇakaḥ*).[221] Unfortunately there are no references to such labour problems, like, the unwillingness on the part of employers to give more to the employees, and extra or double wages or forced labour, which we find in later Buddhist literature.[222]

Communications

Facilities for transport, means of communications, particularly the types of carriages, and travelling in company, are

other interesting items of economic life. In early times there were lines of communications connecting the north with the south-west, from Sāvatthi (Śrāvastī) to Paitthana, with halting places at Ujjenī, Goṇaddha, Vidiśā, Kośāmbī and Sāketa; and from north to the south-east, Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī) to Rājagaha (Rājagiri); and from east to west on which route boats plied for hires.[223] Traders undertook long inland trips from Videha to Gandhāra, and from Magadha to Sovira; from Bharukaccha round the coast to Burma; and from Banaras down the river to its mouth, and then on to Burma; and also from Champā to the same destination.[224] With this much information as the background, it is not surprising to find in the *Mahābhāṣya* references to lines of communications connecting different centres in Madhyadeśa. We have also referred to certian other phenomenon pointing to the distance between Ujjayini and Māhiṣmati. Patañjali refers to the movement of people, from one village to another, and enquiring the way (*grāmantaram gamiṣyāmi panthanam me bhavān upadiśatu iti*).[225] The travellers also trod on forest roads (*kāntāra pathika*), as well as on water and land (*vāripathika*, *sthalapathika*).[226] The streets for carriage drive were called *rathyā*.[227] An agreeable traveller in company was *pathipriya*,[228] and generally travelling was done in caravans *sakaṭasartha*[229] with a view to avoiding risks which were inevitable when travelling alone. Even then sometimes the caravan lost its way, or was decayed by robbers. These facts are not mentioned by Patañjali but they are noticed in later literature.[230] Going in a carriage was very common (*rathikān upatiṣṭhate*).[231] Horses, camels, and ever asses were used in carts (*aśvaratham auṣṭraratham* and *gardabharatham*).[222] People also used a she-elephent (*ārohayati hast sthalam manuṣvān*).[233]

Banking

Credit was playing an important part in the economic life. The money lender was known as *prayojaka*.[234] Interest, paid over and above the principal, was called *vṛddhi*.[235] Patañjali mentions *pañcavṛddhi*,[236] probably five per cent interest. According to *Vāsiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra*, quoted by Manu,[237] the rate of interest was 12 per cent. It is, however, to be seen if the one mentioned by Patañjali, is monthly or yearly. It was not unusual to charge such a high monthly rate of interest, but it was

quite reasonable if the rate was yearly. Interesting data on banking are furnished by the later Buddhist literature,[238] which refers to the negotiator of a loan (*Iṇasādhaka*) for the borrower (*Iṇagāhaka*), the harassment of debt (*Inaṭṭa*), and release from it (*Iṇamokkha*), which we also notice in the Jātakas.[137] The *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*[239] calls money lending (*yogaprayoga*), and interest (*prayoga*). There is no other reference in the *Mahābhāṣya* on banking details.

We have discussed practically all the aspects of economic life in detail, the professions of the *pañca-kāruki*, the five village artisans *kulāla*, *karmāra*, *vardhakin*, *nāpita* and *rajaka*, with their separate functions; workers in metal, especially goldsmiths and blacksmiths; masons and architects; domestic servants, cooks and confectioners, and certain wild professions, like, those of the fowler and the fisherman; and some low professions. The subject relating to agriculture and husbandry is considered in detail with reference to the division of holdings, preparations and methods of sowing, which varied according to seasons and crops; and the amount of seed needed. Ripening, reaping and threshing followed in the usual course, and the use of agricultural labour was a necessity, especially in big holdings. Grain was stored in big jars. In this connection we also mentioned different crops. Husbandry or the profession of cattle rearing was closely associated with land, and cows and sheep were reared. Merchandise being a comprehensive subject, we considered the position of the vendor and the vendee, trade stipulations and negotiations in a transaction and the role of the broker. We also mentioned articles of trade noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Such a developed economic life necessarily involved exchange, barter, and the intensive use of coinage. A good many types of coins, mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, can be identified with the punch-marked coins, because their weights agree. Weights and measures are also noticed. Lastly, we have referred to means of communication and banking, with reference to the position of the creditor and the rate of interest charged by him. The data present a true picture of the economic life in that period.

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Chapter 6

Educational Life

The evidence, afforded by the *Mahābhāṣya*, on this aspect of Indian life is equally important and interesting. In the preamble to his work, Patañjali mentions in detail the objects underlying the study of grammar which are the protection of the Vedas, and the utilization of learning in various ways. The aims of study for seeking the truth, and acquiring knowledge of different subjects, methods employed—both deductive and inductive, place and time of study, relations between the preceptor and the pupil, unworthy students and harsh teachers, types of educational institutions named after the teachers, writing, female education, and other miscellaneous subjects are mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra either in comments or by way of illustrations. The material, provided by this work, is comprehensive enough for us to form an estimate of the then prevailing system. Patañjali has presented the picture correctly, since he did not fail to mention the short-comings as well. Here it may be interesting to find Patañjali's reference to the grammatical accuracy in the popular sphere, as one notices in the typical illustration in his gloss to Vārttika on II.4.56. It describes a dialogue between a grammarian and a coachman, and the latter points out the correctness of a grammatical formation. This may be a solitary instance, because the Bhāṣyakāra wrote his work for the Śiṣṭas at a time when grammatical studies were being neglected, and there was the need for explaining and illuminating the Sūtras of Pāṇini.

Objects of Study

Patañjali devotes a good portion of the first Pāda, in the first Āhṇika of the first chapter of the *Mahābhāṣya*, to the study of grammar, and its necessity, but he also makes certain remarks on the objects of study. No doubt, grammatical study was necessary for the protection of the Vedas (*rakṣārtham Vedanām*

adhyeyam vyākuraṇam),[1] but it was also helpful in other spheres, as for example, in grasping the etymology of words, their formations, inflections and modifications (*vipariṇamayitum*).[2] It was obligatory for a Brāhmaṇa to study grammar as one of the six members of Vedic studies (*Brāhmaṇena niṣkāraṇo dharmaḥ ṣaḍaṅgo vedo 'dheyeyojñeva iti*).[3] with a view to avoiding the use of corrupt words (*duṣṭnśabdān mā pravukṣmahity ādhveyam vyākaraṇam*).[4] The other reasons, enumerated for this study, are: for proper case endings of the Prāyaja hymns (*savikbhatikāḥ śakvāḥ kartum*)[6], it being compulsory for sacrificial priests (*ā-ritvijñaḥ syām*)[6], and finally for communion with God (*mahatā devena naḥ sāmvam yathā syāt*).[7] It is also suggested that as the words of the Vedas, if studied systematically, bear fruit, so he, who uses the words grammatically obtains religious felicity (*yathā Vedaśabdā nivamapūrvam adhītaḥ phalavanto bhavanty evam yaḥ śāstra pūrvam śabdān prayuṅkte so' bhyudayena yuiyata iti*.[8] The objects, underlying the study of *śabdānuśāsana*—the grammar, are: preservation (*rakṣā*), adaptation to circumstances (*ūha*), doctrine (*āgama*), quick uuderstanding (*laghu*), and the removal of confusion or doubts (*asaṃdeha*).[9]

This study was also made from the utilitarian (*laukika*) point of view, namely, to prepare a Brāhmaṇa boy for properly discharing his duties in places where required. The ultimate end of all was to seek the highest knowledge, as one finds in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*.[10] According to the Bhāṣyakāra, knowledge could be perfected by receiving instruction (*āgamakāla*), assimilation (*svādhyāya*), teaching (*pravacana*), and lastly by practice (*vyavahāra*).[11] This shows that mere study with the teacher was not enough, but perfection needed constant study, and in different circumstances. It was also necessary for householders to acquire learning to be able to win a position in society. Thus, pupil, running away from his teacher's place without fulfilling his terms of residence, was looked down upon as *khaṭvārūḍha*,[12] an iniquitous person who wished to use a bedstead during his period of studentship. After completing his education, the student had a bath and finally sought the permission of his preceptor to enter the life of a householder (*adhītya snātvā guru bhir anujñātena khaṭvaroḍhayā*).[13] It is clear that education was a necessity, and its ideal was not merely to seek the ulti mate

truth by attaining knowledge, but also to equip oneself for faithfully living the life of a householder.

Subjects of Study

Some of the subjects were particularly meant for the Brāhmaṇas, a few for the Kṣatriyas, but others could be studied universally by the *dvijas*. A Brāhmaṇa boy was expected to study and read Dharma, six Aṅgas and Vedas without any special occasion (*brahmaṇena niṣkāraṇo dharmaḥ śaḍaṅgo Vedo'dhyeyo jñeya iti*),[14] but the principal subject was grammar (*pradhānam ca ṣaṭsvaṅgesu vyākraṇam*). Patañjali refers to the ancient custom amongst Brāhmaṇas of studying grammar after the time of "the sacrament of the holy thread" (*purākalpa etad āsît saṃskārotara kālam Brāhmaṇā vyākaraṇam sma adhîyate*).[15] The instruction in Vedic words was imparted to them only when they could understand the places of utterance, and internal and external efforts (involved in the production of sound), and articulated sounds (*tebhyas tatrā sthānakaraṇānupradanājñebhyo vaidikāḥ śabdā upadiśyante tad advatve na lathā Vedam adhītya tvaritā vāktaro bhavanti*).[16] Later on, the position was somewhat changed and the study of grammar was considered redundant (*anarthakam vyakaraṇam iti*), with the result that the *Ācārya* (Pāṇini) had to write his work with a view to stress its need. (*tebhva evam vipratipannabuddhibhvo' dhyetribhya ācārya iddm śāstram anvācaṣe*).[17]

A study of the Vedas included all the four, with six Aṅgas, and their mystical (secret) treatises, '*śākhās* of *Yajuravda*, the *Sāmaveda* with its thousand paths *catvāro vedaḥ saṅgaḥ saraha-sva bahudhā vibhinna ekaśatam adhvarvuśākhāḥ ṣahasra artmā sāmaveda*), the sacred traditions of the *Bāhvṛcas* (*ekaviāmśatidhā bahy-richyam*), the *Atharvaveda* with nine branches (*navadhātharvaṇo vedo*), treatises on dialogues, or the science of logic (*vākovākyam*), Epics, historical legends (*Itihāsa*), Purāṇas and the science of medicine (*vaidyakam*).[18] In another reference, Patañjali also refers to texts handed down by repetition from the *Atharvaveda* (*atharvana āmnāyaḥ*).[19] There are also references to a work called *Samgraha*, Metrics (*Chandaḥśāstra*)[20] and *Dharmaśāstra*.[21] The study of Astrology was made with measurements, and there are references to *kāla*—time, and *muhūrta*—a particular division of time *sakāṣṭhamjyotiṣam adhīte*—

sakālam samuhartam) [22] A comparative study of all doctrines (*sarvatantra*) is also mentioned.[23] Patañjali refers to Brāhmaṇīs studying *kāśakitsna* doctrine and were accordingly known *kasakitsnim adhīte kāśakṛtsna* Brāhmaṇī [24] In the same way, students reading *Sumānotta* and Vāsavadattā were called *Saumanottarika* and *Vāsavdattika*, but one doubts if the reading of these stories could confer a different class of studentship. It could only imply that there was room for non-serious studies as well. In this comment on the Sūtra *Chandobrāhmanāṇi ca tadviśavāñi*),[25] meaning that the affix denoting the 'announcer, has the force of 'one who studies' or 'one who knows' when added to a Veda—Text or Brāhmaṇas; and a *prokta* affix could only be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, when an *adheyetri* or *vedetri* affix follows it, Patañjali mentions[26] the study of the Vedas, as announced by Kroḍa, Kaṅkaṭa, Muda, Pippalāda; the *Kalpa* texts announced by Kaśyapa or Kuśika, and other subjects. Paiṅgi was also read, along with the old *Kalpas* of Kāśyapins, *Kauśītakins* and *Āruṇaparāji*, as suggested by Max-Müller,[27] and old Sūtras including those of the Parāśarins, Śailālins, Karmandins and Krīśāvins.

Besides popular studies including narratives (*aḳhyāyikā*), historical legends, Purāṇas and tales like those of *Yava-krita*, *Priyaṅgu*, *Yayāti*, *Vāsavadattā* and *Sumanottarā*,[28] there was, probably, some training in other subjects. like *Vayasavidva*—the science of augury from observing crows, chiromancy etc. (*añgāaidya*), and the science of animals (*golakṣaṇa—aṣvalakṣaṇa*).[29] *Kṣātra vidyā*, *Dharmavidyā*,[30] Juristic studies and *Traiviaya* were not neglected, and Patañjali also refers to training given in archery (*dhanuṣhi ṣikṣāte*.[31] It is interesting to learn that a person belonging to a higher caste, even though degraded, was entitled to the study of the Vedas (*Yādi tārhi nipātanāny apy evam jativakānn bhavanti śrotrivamaś chāndo 'dhite.*)[32]

Despite the study of other subjects, the importance of grammar was immense, and Patañjali contemptuously refers to a bad grammarian (*vaiyākaraṇapāsa*).[33] This fact is also evidence from the growth of grammatical literature between the time of Pāṇini and Patañjali. The latter refers[34] to four land marks in the history of grammar, represented by the schools of the four *Ācāryas* : Apiśala, Pāṇini, Vyāḍi and Gautama, probably in

chronological order. He also mentions the grammarians of the following schools– *Bhāradvājiya*,[35] *Saunāga*,[36] *Kuṇaravāḍava*[37] and *Sauryābhāgavata*.[38] All the schools lay emphasis on grammatical studies preceding initiation into the Vedas.

Place and Time of Study

These varied according to the circumstances and nature of studies. Patañjali refers to *gurukula* or the 'teacher's house', where the pupils were always under the canopy of the preceptor to protect them (*guruṇā śiṣyvas chātravacchādaḥ śiṣyena ca guruś chātravat paripālayaḥ*).[39] Yājñavalkya also enjoins a *naisṭhika Brāhmaṇa*—a celibate all his life, to live with his *Ācārya*, and in the absence of the latter with his son, or wife, or even fire.[40] The Bhāṣyakāra also refers to an unsteady pupil—known as *tîrthakāka* who, like a crow, wandered from teacher to teacher (*yo gurukulam gatya na ciramtiṣṭahati sa ucyate tîrthāka iti*).[41] There are references to pupils coming from teacher's place (*aupādhyāyākam* or *acaryakam*)[42] which may imply that they were residing with him. The boarders were known as *antevasin*,[43] and the teacher, providing lodging, was called *antegurū*.[44] Patañjali also refers to *daṇḍamānavaka*—staff pupils belonging to different schools, as for example, *Kāṇva-daṇḍā māṇavakaḥ* and *Dakṣa daṇḍa māṇavkaḥ*,[45] who were probably day scholars. *Daṇḍa* or staff was the common mark of pupilage, indicating the school to which the pupils belonged. Sometimes this mark of pupilage was associated with a particular region, as for instance, (*Pañcāla māṇavakaḥ*).[46] It was, really, the name and fame of the teacher that attracted students from different places. A teacher, approached from a distance of a hundred *yojanas*, was known as *yaujana śatiko guru* (*yojanaśatād abhigamanam arhati*).[47] There is no information on the question of fees, but it was charged is some form; and in certain cases, probably, paid in advance.[48] Sometimes it was the maternal uncle (*mātulaka*) who imparted instructions to the nephew (*upādhvāvasva śiṣyo mātulasva bhāgineva*).[49]

The time of study differed according to the age, and circumstances. The initiation started early in spring (*vasanto' dhvanam*)[50], as is the practice even now in India, but in the light of the *Kāśikā* it can be suggested that Patañjali was referring to the study of literature dealing with Vasanta (*vasantikaḥ*).[51] As a

rule, students studied in the day time, but there are references to studious ones working at night as well (*imakābhām chātrābhyām rātrir adhītā atho ābhyam ahar apy adhītam.*)[52] The Bhāsyakāra also mentions a student studying in a quiet place at night after protecting the light from the wind (*tāthā kārīso 'gnir nivāta ekante suprajvalito' dhaāyanam prayojayati*).[53] Light was produced by burning dried cow-dung (*kārīṣa*) and it was necessary to sit in a quiet corner, lest the strong wind might cause fire in the hut. Though there are many references[54] to lamps in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the pupils had, perhaps, no money to pay for the oil.

Methods of Study

The methods, too, varied according to the subjects, as for example, the rote one was most suitable in Vedic studies. Paṇim, in his Sūtra *Śrotrivamsś chando'dhite*,[65] has referred to the Śrotriyas called Brāhmaṅas in the *Kāśikā*, who learnt by heart the Chāndas or Vedas. In this connection, Patañjali mentions reading aloud (*uccair adhīyāna nicair adhīyāna*). This was done according to the prescribed rules (*upavukta mānavaka ity ucavante ya ete niymakaprvim adhîtavanto bhāvanti.*[97] The *Ācarya* taught his pupils in a friendly way (*tad acāryaḥ suhrdhutvāna ācaṣṭe*).[58] As pointed out by Patañjali, the Vedic scholar recited verses beginning with *Śam*, a term expressing auspiciousness, in order of Sections (*prapāṭhaka*) after uttering the sacred syllable *Om* (*om ity uktvā vrittantasah sam ity evamadin śabdan paṭhanti*).[59] From this, one gets the impression that the Vedic scholars were grown up and had a firm grounding in grammar which, in Patañjali's time, preceded Vedic studies. This enabled them to follow with ease the Vedic recensions in the light of the preceptor's comments rather than exclusively committing verses to memory without properly understanding them. The earlier method, however, was not discouraged. Recitation, popularly known as *nipāṭha*.[60] was done in company (*vaātipatha*).[61] Doubts if any, were removed by the commentary or interpretation of the teacher (*vyākhyānto viśeṣapratipattir na hi samdehād alakṣṇam it nitavparyāyavācino grahaṇam iti vyākhvasvāmaḥ*).[62] The ruling or explanation, given by the teacher, was binding (*ācārvaprāvṛittir jñapavati*).[63]

It is interesting to find emphasis laid on pronunciation and recitation (*yadāvada*).[64] Those reading clearly were called *sādhvadhyāyin*, but others, rather slow, were known as *vilambitadhvāyin*.[66] There were same reciting with a sweet voice, like an Indian cuckoo (*kokilābhivyāhārī*).[66] Patañjali also mentions the preceptor slapping the young pupil for wrong pronunciation (*va udātte kartavya 'nudattam karoti khaṇḍikopādhyāyas tasmai capiṭam dadāti*).[67] A *khaṇḍika upādhyāya* taught only those pupils who learnt section by section, and, it seems, he had to manage with comparatively young boys who could be slapped but not the older ones who were taught in a friendly manner.

There is no reference to examination in texts, but it is probably implied in the two Sūtras of Pāṇini—*Karmādhyayane vṛttam* and *Bahvacpūrvapadāt ṭhac*.[68] The two Sūtras explain the use of the affix *ṭhak* in the sense of this is his act occurring in study, after a word in the first case in construction, if such word is an action (*karma*) which occurred (*vṛttam*) in study (*adhyayana*); or according to the next Sūtra, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study' after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member. Explaining this further, the *Kāśikā* classifies[69] students on the basis of errors, committed in recitation at the time of the examination (*vasya adhyayane niyuktasya parīkṣākāle paṭhataḥ*), as for instance, *aikānyika*, committing only one mistake; *dvaivanvika* two mistakes; and *traiyānyika* three mistakes. But there were some who committed twelve mistakes (*dvādasānvika*); and it needed a good many recitations to avoid lapses in pronunciation. The other Sūtra *Samkhvāyāh saṃjñāsaṃghasūtrādhayaneṣu*,[70] referring to the affixes under V.I.182, connoting a word which signified a numeral in the sense of 'this is its measure', when the word, so formed, means 'a name, multitude, a book, or a fixed way and method of study', mentions the number of times a subject was studied, as for example, five times *adhyayane pañcako' dhātaḥ*).[71] This point is not stressed by Patañjali.

In another Sūtra *tad adhite tad Veda*,[72] which refers to the use of the affix *aṇ* after a word, denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that' or 'who understands that', the Bhāṣyakāra in his gloss has clarified it by

pointing out that *adhīta* refers to studies depending on memory —where the rote system was adopted. He calls such a pupilc (*sampātham paṭhat*)*i*[73] viz. one who simply commits the texs to memory without understanding the meaning. The other was by grasping the contents, rather than letters in recitation (*kaśecicca vetti na ca sampāṭham paṭhati*). It is, therefore, clear that there was room for proper thinking and understanding, commended earlier by Yāska,[74] in his *Nirukta*, who compared cramming like dry logs of wood on an extinguished fire which can never illuminate.

Relations between the Preceptor and the Pupil

The relations between the two were cordial, but failings on both sides were not wanting. The academic relations, more filial in nature, commenced when the preceptor, seriously upholding the sanctity of learning, started his instructions with *kuśa* grass in his hand, and at an auspicious moment facing the east. The pupil was required to acquire the affection of his teacher for his own welfare, both in this world and in the life after (*ye tāvad ete guru—śūśrūṣavonāma te'pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante pāralaukikam ca no bhakiṣyati iha ca naḥ prito gurur adhyāpapis yati iti*).[75] The smṛtis also enjoin upon the pupil to show reverence towards his preceptor. According to Yājña-valkya,[76] he should serve or worship the preceptor for the sake of learning, and be attentive, while Manu has prescribed[77] service to the teacher, both as a student obedient to him, and even after the period of studentship. At another place, Patañjali refers to a pupil living in the village for the sake of his preceptor and his learning (*grāmā gurunimittam vasāmaḥ—adhyayananimittam vasām iti*).[78]

With begging bowl in his hands, the pupil went cut on rounds (*kamaṇḍalu pāṇim chātram adrākṣid iti*),[98] to the house-holders for food and other necessities *upādhyavasya śiṣyo vajva-kulani gatvarāsānādīni labhate*).[86] According to Yājñavalkya, the pupil presented his alms to the preceptor (*labdham tasmai nivedavet*).[81] Some undesirables also stayed with the teacher. Patañjali refers to such pupils, studying the work of Pāṇini for the sake of securing boiled rice (*odana-paṇinîyah*), but the Rauḍhīyas were desirous of getting ghee (*ghṛta-rauḍhīvaḥ*), and

the Cārayaṇīyas stayed for blankets (*kambala carāyānīyaḥ*).[82] These may have been the nick-names of those respective schools; but there were cases of students with little desire for learning, and they occasionally played truant. They tried to avoid their presence, but, when noticed by the teacher, they were discomfitted (*katham upādhyāyad antardhatta iti paśyaty ayam yadi mām upādhyāyaḥ paśyati dhruvam prekṣam upā lambho veti*).[83] Such a thing was discouraged. The pupil with a smile looked beautiful (*hāsanam chatrasva sobhanam*).[64] Yājñavalkya prescribes[85] the following qualities in a student who should be taught according to Dharma: He should be grateful, non-hating, intelligent, pure, healthy, non-envious, honest, energetic, kindred, and should either impart knowledge or make a present of money. These qualities seemed necessary for a better understanding between the preceptor and the pupil.

In cases of students committing errors, or for wilful default, the teacher exercised his authority of punishing him for the welfare of the latter: (*sāmrtaih paṇibhir ghananti guravo na viṣokṣitaihlāḍanāsrāvino doṣas tāḍonaśrāaino guṇah*).[86] Sometimes the teacher was harsh and was known as *dārunādhyāpaka*, but a well-disposed one was called *śobhano'dhvāpaka*.[87] An excellent or superior teacher was designated *kāsṭhādhyāpaka*.[88] The pupils were also known according to their talents and disposition, as for example, a fiery boy (*agnirmaṇavaka*),[89] a talkative one (*śabdkavra avam māṇavaka*),[90] and a wicked pupil (*maṇavaka jatilākabhirūpa*), in contrast to a harsh teacher (*jaṭiladhyāpa*).[01] These may be extreme cases, but generally the teacher was friendly and well-disposed towards his pupils. Despite the offering of equal opportunities, the results varied according to the intelligence of the pupils (*samanam ihamananam adhiyannam ca kecid arthair vujvante 'pare na*).[92]

The *Mahābhāṣya* also refers to the wife of the teacher (*upadhavaī*)[93] or (*upadhvani*),[94] but there is no reference to the relation that existed between her and the pupil. As a member of the family, the pupil was expected to pay her equal reverence. Patañjali does not mention the qualities necessary in a teacher and his pupil as we find in the *Milindapañho*,[95] nor is there any reference to hardships connected with student's life which, too, are mentioned in Buddhist literature.[96]

He has classed the teachers into: *Ācārya*,[97] *Guru*,[98] *Śikṣaka*[99] and *Upādhyāya*.[100] Though they appear to be synonymous there was, according to the Smṛti literature, some difference in their respective functions. Yājñavalkya[101] distinguishes the two terms, *Guru* and *Ācārya*: the former performed all the ceremonies even before the birth of the child till his initiation, but the latter initiated him into Vedic studies after performing the *Upanayana* ceremony. The position of the *Upāhyāya* was different. According to the *Yajñavalkyasmṛti*,[102] he taught only a portion (*khaṇḍ*), but, as Manu[903] suggests, for his livelihood (*vṛittyarthm*). The status of the *Śikṣaka* appears to be analogous. The pupils were both day scholars, and boarders (*antevāsin*). It may now be interesting to notice the types of schools named after the teachers, and the pupils who upheld the traditions of their respective schools.

Different Schools—named after the Teachers—
Gotras and Caraṇas

The pupils were known after the teachers to whom they were attached. According to Pāṇini's Sūtra: *ācāryopsarjana's*, *cāntevāsī* (VI.2.36)—when a scholar is named by an epithet derived from the name of his teacher, that name is an *ācāryopasarjana*. In this class, Patañjali mentions the *dvandva* compound *Āpiśalapaṇinîya vyāḍîyagutamîya*[104]—meaning the students belonging to the schools of Āpiśala and Pāṇini; and Vyāḍi and Gautama. At another place, he refers to the relation of schools with *Gotras*, as for example, in *asti no gargaiḥ sambanda—asti no vatsaih sambandha iti*.[105] Both, Pāṇini and Patañjali, have mentioned a number of *Gotras* which appear to have been based on Vedic *mantras*, religious traditions and sacrificial customs associated with a particular sage and later on adopted by all his followers. Patriarchal hegemony was recognized, and the head of the *gotra* was the connecting link with those having physical and spiritual ties. Different names in the succeeding pedigrees are also traced in the *Mahābhāṣya*[106] as for instance: Garga, his son Gārgī, grandson Gārgyaḥ and the great grandsons called Gārgyāyaṇas.

Caraṇa

This term, occurring in the compound *caraṇasambandha*, has

the sense of *nivāsa* (*caraṇasambandhena nivāsalakṣaṇo*).[107] Here Patañjali quotes three *caraṇas* dwelling in the east (*trayaḥ prācyaḥ*), three in the west (*trayā udīcyaḥ*), and three in the middle (*trayo mādhyamaḥ*). The position of the *Caraṇas*, often considered as synonymous with the *śākhas* (cf. *Nirukta—Sarva-caraṇānām* explained by *Sarvaśākhānam*, I.17), engaged the attention of Max Müller[108] who explained the difference between these two terms, as well as with the *Pariṣad*, which is also mentioned by Patañjali.[109] According to the late Professor, *śākhā* signified the various editions, or, more properly, the various traditions, that branched off from each of the three original branches of the Veda. In the latter sense, despite its similarity with *Caraṇa*, there was an important difference, as we notice *śākhām adhīte* but never *caraṇam adhīte*, and still less *Pāriṣadam adhīte*. *Śākhā*, originally meant a literary work, and that *Caraṇa* did not. The use of the term *śākhā* sometimes in the sense of *Caraṇa* was due to the fact that the former did not exist as written books, but only in traditions of the *Caraṇas*; each member of the latter representing, what should be called, the copy of a book. In a passage from Jagaddhara's commentary on *Mālatīmādhava*, *Caraṇa* is said to mean a number of men who are pledged to the reading of a certain *śākhā* of the Veda, and who have in this manner become one body *Caraṇaśabdaḥ śākhāviśeṣādhyayana paraikatāpanna—janasaṃghavāci*).[110] He also referred to Pāṇini mentioning *Caraṇas*, as constituting a multitude—that is comprising a number of followers (*Caraṇebhyoḥ dharmavat—samūhārthe*).[111] In a Vārttika on IV.1.63, even women are mentioned, as belonging to a *Caraṇa*, as for example, Kaṭhī[112] was the wife or daughter of a Brāhmaṇa who belonged to the *Caraṇa* or read the *śākhās* of the Kaṭhas, a *śākhā*—a portion of the Śruti, could not properly include law books but the followers of certain *śākhās* could, in course of time, adopt a code of law binding on their *Caraṇa* only, which naturally, went after the name of their group. Thus, *Kāṭhakam* could be used not only for the sacred traditions, but also for the laws of the Kaṭhas. According to Patañjali, these sacred traditions were known as *Āmnāya*, as for instance, the doctrines and traditions, associated with the school of Kaṭha were described as Kāṭhakam (*kāṭhanam dharma ā-mnāyo vā*

kāṭhakam).[113] Others mentioned in this context are: *Kalapakam*, *Maudanam* and *Paippalādanam*. Even the *Prātiśākhyas* were named according to *Caraṇas*, and they were the exclusive property of the readers of certain *śākhās*, more than even the *kuladharmas* or family laws. New *Caraṇas*, in latter times, were also founded on sacred texts peculiar to themselves.

As regards the position of a *Pariṣad*, although every *prātiśākhyā* could be called a *Pārṣada* (cf. *Pāṇini*, IV.3.123), viz. a work belonging to a *Pariṣad*, not every *Pārṣada* could be called a *Prātiśākhya* except those which contained the rules of pronunciation for a popular *śākhā* or text of the Vedic hymns, studied and taught in certain *Pariṣads*. The *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*[114] refers to Śvetaketus visit to the *Pariṣad* of the Pāñcālas.

With this explanation of the terms, serving as the background for a proper understanding, we may refer to the actual references to such schools in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The main grammatical schools were those of *Āpiśali*,[115] *Pāṇini*,[116] *Vyāḍi*,[117] *Śākalyā*,[118] *Kuṇaravādava*,[119] *Sauvāśya*[120] and *Sākaṭāyana*.[121] Amongst the Vedic schools were those of the Black *Yajurveda* (*Kāṭhakam*), and *Kālāpakam* which were very popular in different villages (*grāme grāme Kāṭhakam Kālapakam ca procyate*)[122], the school of *Varatantu* (*Vāratāntavīyaḥ*) and that of *Tittiri* (*Taittirīyaḥ*)[123] from the Black *Yajurveda*, and *Paippalādaka*,[124] a recension of the *Atharvaveda*.

Other schools, mentioned by Patañjali, including those of a specialized nature, were *Yājñikas*, *Bahvṛcas*, *Aukathikas* and *Mīmāṃsakas*.[125] The first one consisted of those who were well-up in rituals, but they were equally proficient in grammar as Patañjali calls them *vaiyākaraṇas*. The members of the second school were familiar with the *Ṛgveda* and could represent in sacrificial economics. The *Aukthikas* studied the *ukthas*—a kind of recitation, or certain verses, forming a subdivision of the Śāstras, recited in contradistinction to the *Sāman* verses which are sung, and *Yājñas*, or muttered sacrificial formulas.[126] The last school was noted for its members following the Mīmāṃsā principles. According to Max Müller,[127] the Brāhmaṇas cared for the divine authority of their Śrutis and implicity maintained the doctrines of the *Ṛṣis* in the original simplicity and purity. In philosophical discussions, they allow-

ed the greatest possible freedom. At first only three philosophical systems were admitted as orthodox, the two Mīmaṃsās and Nyāya, but their number was soon raised to six so as to include the Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya and Yoga schools. Keith suggested[128] that from Medhātithi onwards, use is made of Mīmāṃsā principles to overcome legal difficulties which arose from the recognition in the law schools of many conflicting texts, as all having authority, just as the Vedic texts, before the compilers of the Mīmāṃsā presented innumerable difficulties.

There were certain other schools, based on *gotras* or teachers, like those of Upagu—a pupil of that school was known as *Aupagavīya*,[129] and a young girl was called *Aupagayī*, *Māṇavikā*[130] *Kapiñjali*, and *Kaulini*; their pupils were respectively called *Kāpiñjalaḥ*[131] and *Kaulinaḥ*. There were some other schools of *Kāṇvāyana* (*Kāṇvvāyana*) the descendants of Kāṇva; the pupils of this school were known as *Kāṇvāyaniyaḥ*.[132] The *Śālaṅkaḥ*[133] belonged to the school of *Śālaṅki*, and the other ones were: *Bhāradvājīyah*,[134] *śākalaḥ*[135] *Auḍameghaḥ* (*auḍamedhvavaśchātra auḍameghaḥ*),[136] *Auḍulomi*,[137] *Gargīya*, *Vatsīvah*[138] and *Kāśyapaḥ*[139] associated with their respective *gotras*. The *Krauḍāḥ*[140] traced their descent from Kruḍa. There are also references to *Kauśikinaḥ* and *Pārāśarinaḥ*.[141] Patañjali mentions several other schools as well—*Taumburavinaḥ Hāridravinaḥ*, *Āruṇinaḥ*, *Sādvāvaṇinah* and *Bhāllavinaḥ*,[142] *Maṭharāh*[143] and *Paiṅgalokāṇvāḥ*.[144] Sometimes the pupils studied at their father-in-law's house, and they were known as *śvāsureryūnaś chātrah śvāśuraḥ*.[145]

Some professional schools are also noticed by Patañjali, as for instance, those of actors (*śailālin*),[146] and players on instruments (*mārdaṅgika*).[147] The references to musical instruments and play-acting in the *Mahābhāṣya* definitely suggest the existence of such schools which imparted instructions in play-acting and playing on instruments. On this point, Kauṭilya[148] has also referred to the arrangements for higher teaching for the production of great teachers. There were also schools or teachers imparting instructions in military subjects (*kṣātravidyā*),[149] or practical training in the use of sword (*asibhir vuddham*), and cavalry (*aśvair yuddham*).[150] It is not certain if the provision was made for teaching subjects like, chiromancy (*āṅgavidyā*), and understanding the signs of crows (*vāyasavidyā*), cows and

horses (*goḷakṣaṇa-aśvalakṣaṇa*); or in Itihāsa—historical legends, Purāṇas, counting and accounting (*parigaṇanā*). There was room for elementary study (*varṇapāṭha*),[151] though there is no reference to the young teacher, popularly known as *dāraka-cārya*[152] in later literature.

Fees and Period of Study

There is no reference to the fees paid to the teacher, either in a lump-sum, or by part payment, though at one place Patañjali cites the gift of cows to the teacher (*upādhyāya gām dadāti iti*).[153] The question of fees does not seem to be important. The diffusion of learning had no mercenary motive. It was the duty of the householders to meet the requirements of the preceptor and his family, as well as his pupils, but the Upādhyāya, whom Patañjali calls *Khaṇḍikopādhyāya*, in the light of *Manusmṛti*[154], did charge for imparting instructions in only a portion of the Veda, or their *Aṅgas*. The day scholars, were expected to pay fees in cash, or in kind, so that the teacher could maintain himself and his family. The study of a portion, according to the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*[155] was also fruitful. There is no reference to the period of study, but, as suggested by *Yājñavalkya*[156], for each Veda the *Brahmacarya* should be for twelve years or five or, as some say, till they are completely acquired. Manu suggests[157] that a student, who has studied in due order the three Vedas, or two, or even one only without breaking the rules of studentship, shall enter the order of householder. Patañjali looks with contempt upon those entering domestic life without completing the period of study. It seems that there was some prescribed period of study, though the actual number of years are not mentioned.

Writing

Despite insistence on the rote method, writing was in use, and the Greek script is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*Yavanāñilipi*[158]). It is later on referred to as one of the 64 scripts in which the Śākyan prince Gautama was proficient.[159] The *Mahāvastu* has also mentioned[160] Yāvanī, besides other scripts—Pūṣkarasārī, Kharoṣṭī (Kharoṣṭhī), Brāhmī, Kūṭalipi, Śaktinlipi. Lekhālipi, and Mudrālipi or seal writing. It is certain that Greek, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī were popular scripts in that

period, though the use of the former two was confined to north-west India.

Female Education

The *Mahābhāṣya* refers to *Upādhyāya, Upādhyāyī*[161] and *Upādhyāyāni.*[162] The last word is translated by Monier-Williams[163] as 'the wife of a teacher' while the former two, probably, denoted a female teacher (*upetyādhīyate tasyā upādhyāyi upādhyāya*). Patañjali also refers to a young girl of the *Aupagayi* school (*Aupagayī māṇavikā*)[164] and a Brāhmaṇī studying Kāśakṛtsnī doctrines (*Kāśakṛtsnīm adhīte Kāśakṛtsnā Brāhmaṇī*).[165] There are two other terms in the *Mahābhāṣya Sāktīki* and *Yāśtīki*[166]—both, being synonymous, meaning 'female lance or spear-holder'. It is rather doubtful that women received military education, although individual cases might not be ruled out. References from the Vedic literature[167] suggest initiation of girls for education before marriage. The eminence of Ghoṣā and Lopamudrā is evident from the *Ṛgveda*, and in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*[168], there is a ritual for the benefit of a person, anxious for the birth of a daughter, who could distinguish herself as a scholar in due course. Even the deeper problems of philosophy were probed into by women like Maitreyī and Gārgī, though such a thing was getting unpopular with the passage of time. According to Megasthenes[169], the Brāhmaṇas did not communicate knowledge of their philosophy to their wives, lest they leave home. Manu permits[170] the *upanayana* of girls; provided the Vedic mantras for the occasion are not recited.

In the light of these observations, it is not surprising to notice Patañjali's reference to female education. In the *Mahāvastu* there are references[171] to female education—that of a banker's daughter being brought up as an ascetic and competent enough to discuss Śāstras, and another girl who belonged to the artisan class but was talented.

Lastly, the Bhāṣyakāra refers to a handsome dark complexioned person who was conversant with every branch of learning, and was known as *diṭṭha.*[172] This reference may suggest that there was scope for learning even for non-Aryans who were dark-complexioned as Patañjali is very particular

about the complexion of the Brāhmaṇas which he specifically notices in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

Assemblies

Patañjali uses the term *Pariṣat*[173] (*Pariṣad*) for denoting learning bodies. Earlier Pāṇini refers to the use of the affix *ṇya* after the word *Pariṣad* in the sense of 'who assembles there' (*Pariṣadonyaḥ bhavati sama vāyan samavaiti ity etasmin viṣaye*).[174] Its constitution is referred in by *Yājñavalkya*,[175] who suggests that four persons, who knew the Vedas and the Dharmas, or only the three sciences, constituted a *Pariṣad*. "What it says is Dharma, or that which even one person, who is best among the knowers of spiritual sciences, declares." It appears that the institution of *Pariṣad* regulated the academic activities of different groups, or schools, and served as a means for the development and propagation of learning. The *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*[176] mentions a teacher with his *Pariṣad*.

We have taken into account the educational system in the time of Patañjali in all its aspects. The objects of study, with particular reference to grammar in the Preamble to his work—were many, but the ultimate aim was to seek the highest knowledge. It could be made perfect, not only at the time of receiving instruction, but also through assimilation, teaching and application. The continuous study at different periods made an enthusiastic student proficient in the understanding and interpretation of Vedic *mantras* at appropriate occasions. The subjects of study, besides grammar which preceded Vedic studies, were the four Vedas with six *Aṅgas*, their mysteries, a hundred *śākhās* of the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* with its thousand paths, treatises on dialogues, or the science of logic, epics, purāṇas and medicine. Other studies included saṃgraha, metrics, dharmaśāstra, astrology, and a comparative study of all doctrines (*sarva-tantra*), and popular subjects like the tales of *Sumanottarā* and *Vāsavadattā*. The smṛtis, chiromancy and the science of animals are also mentioned. The place and time of study varied, though it was generally the home of the teacher, where the over-zealous pupils studied by the light of the cow dung fire in a quiet corner at night. There were also day scholars, and others who had partial instructions. The method

of study was the rote system, but there was scope for discussion and interpretation for a proper understanding of the texts. Emphasis was laid on pronunciation, and, probably, there were examinations in recitations. The relations between the preceptor and his pupils were very cordial—each side bearing his responsibility, but there were occasional lapses, like, the student running away due to the harshness of the teacher. The Bhāṣyakāra mentions the names of different schools, and refers to fees and period of study. Only the *Khaṇḍika* teachers charged for their instructions; others seem to be doing that freely, depending on the householders who met their requirements, and whatever the parting student paid as *gurudakṣiṇā* on the completion of his education. Different types of scripts, female education, and the probable scope of study for non-Aryans, and the *Pariṣads* or assemblies are also traced in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The reference to the *Yavanānī* or the Greek script is not surprising, since Patañjali refers to the settlements of the Yavanas. In the light of the above study of the educational life in that period, it may be suggested that education was planned on the ancient model which laid stress on proper understanding and interpretation, without completely giving up cramming which was necessary in certain cases.

References

[1]I.1.1, p. 1.15.
[2]Ibid., 18.
[3]Ibid., 18.19.
[4]Ibid., p. 2.13.
[5]Ibid., p. 3.11.
[6]Ibid., 13.
[7]Ibid., 22.
[8]Ibid., p. 10.23.
[9]Ibid., p. 1.14.
[10]IV.4.21.
[11]I.1.1, p. 6.1.
[12]II.I.16, p. 384.10.
[13]Ibid., 11.
[14]I.1.1, p. 1.19.
[15]I.1.1, p. 5.7.
[16]Ibid., 7-9.
[17]Ibid., 17.
[18]I.1.1, p. 9.21.23.

[19]IV.3 131, p. 320.9.
[20]I.2.32, p. 208.19.
[21]I.2.64, p. 242.25.
[22]VI.3.79, p. 170.17.
[23]IV.2.60, p. 284.12.
[24]IV.1.14, p. 206.9.
[25]IV.2.60, p. 284.12.
[26]IV.2.66, p. 286.12.
[27]*His. Anc. San. Lit.*, p. 364n.
[28]IV. 2.60, p. 284.7-9.
[29]Ibid., 2.
[30]Ibid., 6.
[31]I.3.21, p. 280.8.
[32]III.1.122, p. 87.8.
[33]I.3.47, p. 411.6
[34]VI.2.36, p. 125.12.
[35]I.1.20, p. 73.26.
[36]II.2.18, p. 416.15.
[37]III.2.14, p. 100.8.
[38]IV.2.106, p. 421.13.
[39]VI.2.62, p. 333.1.
[40]II.49.
[41]II.1.42, p. 391.7.
[42]IV.2.104, p. 295.19.
[43]IV.3.104, p. 315.22.
[44]IV 3.10, p. 145.16.
[45]IV.2.102, p. 297.5.
[46]IV.1.165, p. 267.9.
[47]V.1.74, p. 308.17.
[48]*Milindapañha*, p. 1.
[49]III.3.18, p. 145.1.
[50]IV.2.63, p. 284.21.
[51]p. 308.
[52]II.4.32, p. 481.10.
[53]III.1.26, p. 33.8.
[54]I.1.49, p. 119.9; II.1.1, p. 359.6 etc.
[55]V.2.84.
[56]II.1.2, p. 376.7.
[57]I.4.29, p. 329.11.
[58]II.4.32, p. 481.3.
[59]I.1.1, pp. 5.6f.
[60]IIV.29, p. 283.8.
[61]I.3.15, p. 278.24.
[62]I.1.1, p. 6.27-28.
[63]I.1.2, p. 15.25.
[64]IV.1.12, p. 17.6.
[65]IV.2.80, p. 131.25.

[66]Ibid., 21.
[67]I.1.1, p. 41-23-24.
[68]VI. 4.63,64.
[69]II, p. 367.
[70]V.1.58.
[71] *Kāśikā*., p. 392.
[72]IV. 2.59, p. 283.10.
[73]Ibid.
[74]Ibid., 10-11.
[75]III.1.26, p. 36.1.2.
[76]III.26.
[77]I 71, 72.
[78]I.1.57, p. 148.22.
[79]I.4.84, p. 347.17.
[80]I.1.55, p. 133.25.
[81]II.27.
[82]I.1.73, p. 190.2.
[83]I .4.28, p. 329.2.
[84]III.1.94, p. 80.19.
[85]II 28. *Kṛtajñ-ādrohi medhāvī sucikalyānasūcakaḥ, adhyāpyaḥ sādhu-śaktāptasvārthadā dharmatas tv ime.*
[86]VIII.1.8, p. 367.12-13.
[87]VI.1.67, p. 379.19.
[88]VII.1.68, p. 380.13.
[89]VIII.1.12, p. 368.17.
[90]I.1.1, p. 1.13.
[91]I.2.32, p. 209.20, 21.
[92]I.1.5, p. 31.22.
[93]III.2.21, p. 147.20.
[94]IV.1.49, p. 220.21.
[95]I|, p 94.
[96]Ibid., p. 315, *Mahāvagga*, I.25-26.
[97]IV.3.131, p. 320.9.
[98]I.2.32, p. 208.19.
[99]I.2 64, p. 242.25.
[100]IV.3.79, p. 170.17.
[101]I.34. *sa gurur yaḥ krīyaḥ krītvā vedam asmai pravacchati upanīya dadād vedam ācāyḥ śa udāhṛtaḥ.*
[102]I.35. *ekadeśam upādhyāya.*
[103]II.141. *Yo'dhyāpayati vṛttyartham upādhyāyaḥ sa ucyate*
[104]VI.2.36, p. 125.11.
[105]II.1.1, p. 366.3.
[106]IV.1.°3, p. 247.22; IV.1.1, p. 193.14.
[107]IV.2.138, p. 301.5.
[108]*Hist. Anc. Sans. Lit.*, pp. 124f.
[109]III.3.108, p. 155.10.
[110]Max. Müller, op. cit.
[111]IV.2.46.

[112]VI.3.42, p. 157.13.
[113]IV.3.120, p. 319.5.
[114]VI.2.
[115]IV 2.45, p. 281.3.
[106]I.1.20, p. 75.3.
[117]I 2.64, p. 244.8.
[118]I.1.18, p. 72.8.
[119]VII.3.1, p. 317.9.
[120]VI.1.127, p. 89.22.
[121]III.2.1, p 120 21.
[122]VI.3.101, p. 315.11.
[123]IV,2.66, p. 286.9.
[124]IV.1,1, p. 195.25.
[125]II.2.29, p. 430.20.
[126]Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 726.
[127]Op. cit., p. 78.
[128]*His. San. Lit.*, p. 475.
[129]IV.1.90, p. 243.5.
[130]IV.1.93, p. 247.24.
[131]IV.1.90, p. 243.18.
[132]IV.1.165, p. 267.14.
[133]IV.1.90, p. 244.25.
[134]IV.1.79, p. 234.19.
[135]IV.1.18, p. 213.7.
[136]IV.1.78, p 229.25.
[137]Ibid., p. 230.5.
[138]IV.1.89, p. 240.15.
[139]Ibid., p. 271.13.
[140]IV.2.66, p. 286.12.
[141]Ibid., 16.
[142]IV.2.104, p. 296.14-15.
[143]II.2.18, p. 452.19.
[144]I.1.73, p. 190.10.
[145]IV.1.90, p. 243.98.
[146]IV.2.66, p. 286.18.
[147]IV 4.55, p. 332.4.
[148]*Arthaśāstra*, II.27.
[149]IV.2.60, p. 284.6.
[150]V.1.59, p. 356.23.
[151]I.1.69, p. 178 20.
[152]*Lalitavistāra*, p. 144.
[153]I.4.32, p. 330.13.
[154]II 141.
[155]II.47.
[156]II.36.
[157]III.2.
[158]IV.1.10

[159]*Lalitavistāra*, p. 125.
[160]Vol. I, p. 135.
[161]III.3.21, p. 147.20.
[162]IV.1.49, p. 220.21.
[163]Op. cit., p. 213.
[164]IV.1.93, p. 247.24.
[165]IV.1.14, p. 206.9.
[166]IV.1.15, p. 209.16.
[167]cf. *RV*, X.5.18.
[168]VI.4.17.
[169]Frag, XLI, op. cit.
[170]II.66.
[171]Vol. II, p. 53; vol. III, p. 391.
[172]V.I.119, p. 367.20.
[173]III.3.108, p. 155.10.
[174]IV.4.44, *Kāśikā*, p. 364.
[175]I.9.
[176]III.2.40.

Chapter 7

Religious Condition

India in the time of Patañjali witnessed the revival of Vedic sacrifices, as is evident from the references in the *Mahābhāṣya*, and the Ayodhyā inscription recording two horse sacrifices performed by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. The period was equally notable for the evolution of the Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva cult which had originated earlier. These religious factors did not interfere with the *Śramaṇa* religions—Buddhism and Jainism. The famous stupas at Bhārhut and Sāñcī, the former with its railing and *toraṇas*, and the latter with the railing alone, testify to the unhampered activities of the Buddhists who created endowments in that period. It is, however, supposed on the evidence of the *Divyāvadāna*[1], that the Śuṅga monarch tried to undo the work done by Aśoka for Buddhism with a view to rising in the esteem of the Brāhmaṇas. This is a short-sighted view. The Brahmanical Śuṅga Emperor was well-known for his horse sacrifices, rather than for his attempt to destroy Buddhism. There is nothing to support the presumption of Bagchi[2] that the Greek invasion was inspired by the anti-Buddhist attitude of this monarch. It is unlikely that Puṣyamitra would have permitted these Buddhist dedications if he was an antagonist. The Hāthīgumphā inscription of King Khāravela of Kalinga reveals the prosperity of Jainism in Kaliṅga. In this period the ascetic religious orders also flourished, some of which are mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*. In this connection, it is interesting to study some of the inscriptions which corroborate the evidence furnished by the *Mahābhāṣya* on this subject, with particular reference to the Bhāgavata cult. With this short introductory background, we may consider different aspects of religious life and conditions in that period.

Revival of Vedic Sacrifices

In the preamble to his work, the Bhāṣyakāra, while stressing

the need for the study of grammar, also refers to the study of Yājñika Śāstra (*Yāḷñikaḥ śāstreṇa anuvidadhāte*[3]). It is well-known that Aśoka had discouraged sacrifices of animals, but they were revived, and perhaps with greater enthusiasm, in the time of Puṣyamitra. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* quotes references to sacrifices, performed for this Brahmanical ruler (*iha Puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ*,[4] *Puṣyamitro yajate yājakā yājayanatīti*[5]). This is supported by the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva which records the performance of two Aśvamedha sacrifices by Puṣyamitra (*dvira'śvamedha yajñaḥ senāpateh Puṣyamitrasya*)[6] and the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa.[7] The *Mahābhāṣya* also refers to different types of sacrifices: *Agniṣṭoma*, *Rājasūya Vājapeya*, and the domestic ones—*Pākayajña* or *Pañcayajña*, accessories needed in such sacrifices, their duration and fruits that accrued from their performances, and lastly, the priests required for them, who received handsome *dakṣiṇās*. Though the material, furnished by the *Mahābhāṣya* on this point, is not as exhaustive as one finds in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, it is nevertheless enough to suggest the revival of such sacrifices in that period. Patañjali refers to persons unqualified for this purpose (*yājñika pāśa*)[8], and he also mentions the amount of *dakṣiṇā*, the sacrificial fee given to the Brāhmaṇas—sometimes the gelded bull (*mahāniraṣṭo dakṣiṇā dīyate*)[9] but occasionally the same cow passed on a thousand times (*sahasrakṛtyo dattvā tayā sarve te sahasradakṣiṇāḥ sampannāḥ*).[10] This may be an exaggeration but it is not unūsual for a Brāhmaṇa to dispose of the cow which he has received from his *yajamāna*, and the same is purchased again for that purpose.

Types of Vedic Sacrifices

Patañjali mentions *Agniṣṭoma*, *Rājasūya* and *Vājapeya*, besides the domestic sacrifices. The first one is mentioned several times[11] and the merits accruing from its performance are also enumerated. This sacrifice is an ancient one mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*,[12] and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[13] As the simplest and the most common of *Soma*-sacrifice, it required the immolation of single goat, a he-goat to Agni and the chanting of twelve *stotras*, viz. the *Bahiṣ-Pavamāna* and four *Ājya stotras* at the morning sacrifice; the *Mādhyamdina pavamāna* and four *pṛṣṭhastotras* at the mid-day service; the

Tritīya or *Ārbhava-pavamāna*, and the *Agniṣṭoma sāman* at the evening service. The last named chant gave its name to the sacrifice which is often explained as the *Agniṣṭoma sāmsthās kratuh* or the sacrifice concluding with Agni's praise.[14] The *Mahābhāsya* does not mention changes, if any, made in the sacrifice of the animal. Its time of performance, left vague in earlier texts, in unaccounted for by Patañjali. Keith doubted the views expressed by Hillebrandt, that it was the spring festival, celebrated at the new or full moon, which marked the beginning of the year, when a nectar of the gods was offered to them in the shape of King Soma.[15] It would be out of place to describe here in detail this Vedic ritual which seems to have been suspended till it was revived again.

The Royal Consecration ceremony, known as the *Rājyasūya-yajna*[16] was performed for the purpose of conferring powers on the new King. *Abhiṣecanīya*, as the name of a rite included in the *Rājasūya*, is mentioned in the White *Yajurveda*, and in the three Saṃhitās of Black *Yajurveda*, as well as in several Brāhmaṇas, and the Śrauta ritual of all the four Vedas. The last book of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has *abhiṣeka* itself for its main topic. The details of the inauguration ceremony, as described in the Sanskrit literature, may be out of place here, but, according to Goldstucker[17], the Vaidika ceremony had undergone various modifications, and the inauguration ceremony at the Paurāṇic period had but little affinity with the Vaidika rite. F.W. Thomas suggested[18] that there were also special causes at work, such as the neglect of the old Śrauta rituals, or the necessity of providing new forms for rulers who were without title to Kṣatriya rites. Patañjali does not mention the details of this sacrificial rite which was certainly performed with the consecration of the Brahmanical Śuṅga ruler. A distinction is drawn between the *Rājasūya*, an elaborate ritual prescribed for Kṣatriya King desirous of parmountcy, and *Abhiṣeka* which was a necessary act of State including priestly rites. The *Rājasūya*, on the other hand, was an optional religious rite, undertaken with a set object and included a ceremony of consecration. It displayed many popular elements in character with the great nobles and office-bearers playing an important part.

The *Vājapeya*, referred to by the Bhāṣyakāra,[19] is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*[20] and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,[21] and is

fully described in the Śrauta ritual of all the Vedas. The object and the persons entitled to perform it, have been discussed by earlier authorities. According to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya sūtra*[22], it was performed by one desiring supremacy (*ādhipatyakāma*), the *Sāṃkhāyana* gives, instead, desiring abundance of food (*annādāya*) and the *Lāṭyāyana* requires it for one promoted by Brāhmaṇas and kings (*yām Brāhmaṇā rājānaś ca purāskurvīran sa vājapeyana yajet*). According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[23], the rite originated with Indra and Bṛhaspati, who, with the aid of Sāvitri won Prajāpati. The reasonable solution, as suggested by Eggeling and Hillebrandt[24] is that Vājapeya was originally general for all ranks which severally had more special rites, the *Rājasūya, Bṛhaspatisava, Sthāpatisava, Grāmaṇīsava* etc. The features of the *Vājapeya* itself seem to point to the conclusion of Weber that it was originally a popular celebration of victory or promotion.

In the *Mahābhāṣya, Agniṣṭoma* is associated with Brāhmaṇas (*tathā vede khalv api vasante Brāhmaṇo'gniṣṭomadibhiḥ kratubhir yajet*).[25] A bit of confusion, however, seems to have arisen regarding its curious position. Some texts place it above the *Rājasūya*, suggesting that the former conferred paramountcy while the latter aimed only at kingship. Others make the *Vājapeya* appropriate for a paramount lord, and the *Rājasūya* for a universal monarch like Varuṇa.[26] Keith suggested[27] a simple solution by making the *Vājapeya* a rite which was performed by the King before the *Rājasūya* and by the Brāhmaṇa before the *Bṛhaspatisava*, a festival celebrated on his appointment as a royal *Purohita*.

Next in order is the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice which was actually performed by a Śuṅga monarch. Patañjali mentions it separately in three different references.[28] He also refers to *Aśvayūpa*, the post to which the sacrificial horse was tied with its wooden ring at the top. It is evident that the horse-sacrifice was not in letters, but an accomplished fact in this period. It is probable that Patañjali may have joined in any of the two horse sacrifices as a priest.

Yūpas

Patañjali also refers to *Yūpas* in a number of references[29], which were set up for binding the sacrificial animal. He has

also mentioned the material of their make—*dāru* or *vaibhītaka* (Terminalia Bellerica)—*yūpāyadaru*[30]– *vaibhitako yūpah*).[31] These *Yūpas* were associated with Vedic sacrifices, and detailed instructions regarding their shape and size are given in literature. Thus, in the case of the *Vājapeya* sacrifice, its height should be 17 cubits, but in others it varied from five to fifteen cubits.[32] It's octagonal shape is fancifully compared in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[33] to the eight syllables of each line of the *Gāyatrī* metre. The stem was never straight, but curved both at the top and at the centre; and at a distance of two to eight inches from the top of the post was a ring of *kaṭaka* technically called *caṣāla*, which is mentioned by the *Bhāṣyakāra*.[34] Wooden *Yūpas* have not been found so far, but numerous stone *Yūpas* have been discovered in northern India, the earliest being of the time of the Kuṣāṇa ruler Vāśiṣka.[35] It is interesting to find in the *Gṛhyasūtra* and *Dharmasūtra* literature sentiments contrary to the setting up of these *Yūpas*. Thus Vaśiṣṭha[36], Baudhāyana[37], Viṣṇu[38], and Āśvalāyana[39] declared that the very touch of a *Yūpa* was as polluting as that of a funeral pyre, or a women in her courses. These views were, probably, not endorsed, as we find references to the *Yūpas*, and the actual performance of horse sacrifices in the time of Patañjali.

Domestic Sacrifices

There are also references to domestic sacrifices, like, *Pākayajña*,[40] or *Pañca-mahāyajña*.[41] The former, according to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* was of three kinds—the *hutas* viz. the sacrifices offered over the fire, over something that is not the fire—*prahutas*; and the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas (*trayaḥ pākayajña hutā agnau ivamānā anagnau prahutā brāhmaṇabhojane brāhmaṇihutāh*).[42] Manu mentions four forms of this domestic sacrifice (*ve pākayajñas catvārovidhiyajña samanvitāḥ.*)[43] According to the *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra*,[44] it denoted ceremonies connected with worldly life, but Max Müller suggested[45] that the general name of the sacrifices, performed according to the *Gṛhyasūtras*, was *Pākayajña* where *Pāka* symbolised either 'small' or 'good'. Gautama mentions[46] seven kinds of *Pākayajnas* viz. the *Aṣṭaka Parvaṇa* (offered on the new and full moon days), the funeral oblations. *Śrāvaṇī*,

Āgrahāyanî, *Caitrî* and *Āśvavujī*. These are not mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra, but they are described in detail in the *Āśvalāyana*,[47] *Gobhila*[48] and *Pāraskara*[49] *Gṛhyasūtras*. One finds references to *Aṣṭaka*[50] and *Āgrahāyani*[51] but they are used in different senses.

The performance of the *Pañca-mahāyajña* was incumbent on every householder (*sarveṇa ca gṛhasthena pañcamahāyajña nirvartvā*.[52] These, according to the Smṛtikāras,[53] were: sacrifice offered to the Brahman (*adhyāpanam brahmayajñaḥ*), the offering of water (*tarpaṇa*) to the manes *pitṛyajñas tu tarpaṇam*), the burnt oblation— the sacrifice offered to the gods (*homaḥ prahuto*), the Bali offering to the *Bhūtas* (*bhavtiko bali*), and the hospitable reception of guests, the offering to men (*nriyajño tithipūjanam*). The oblations to Devas is alluded to in the expression (*sāyamprātar homa cārupuroḍāśān nirvapati*),[54] but more information is available in relation to manes. Besides the *havya* and *kavya* oblations, offered to gods and *pitṛs* respectively, it was necessary to perform *śrāddha*, and the person dining on that particular day was called *śrāddhi* or *śrāddhika* (*Śrāddham anena bhuktam*).[55] This is done even now for propitiating the manes and for one's spiritual welfare. The wife joined her husband in the performance of sacrifices, and was entitled to an equal share of the fruits (*patnīsaṃvoja iti yatra yajñastaṃyogaḥ*), but this privilege was not accorded to a Śūdra lady, despite her legal status (*evam api tuṣajakasya patnīti na sidhvati*[56].) Patañjali does not mention the penance for the non-performance of such sacrifices, but, according to Manu, such a person lives not though he breathes (*na nirvapati pañcānām ucchavasan na sajîvati*).[57]

Turāyaṇa was another kind of sacrifice mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra (*yas turāyaṇena yajate sa taurāyaṇika ity ucyate*).[58] It was one of the forms of the new and full moon offerings which could extend to a year in duration.[59] The *Śāṃkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* mentions *Turāyaṇa* as a *yājya* performed for the attainment of heaven (*sa eṣa svargakāmasya yajñaḥ*).[60]

Soma Drinking

There is no reference in the *Mahābhāṣya* to other kinds of Vedic sacrifices, like, *Jyotiṣṭoma* or *Āyuṣṭoma* which are mentioned by Pāṇini,[61] and were performed for obtaining longevity.

Soma-drinking was known, as Patañjali refers to *kuṇḍāpayya*[62] at which ewers or pitchers were used. The other form was called *saṃcaya* which required the stocking or accumulation of *Soma*. It is mentioned in the same Sūtra of Pāṇini, but is ignored by the Bhāṣyakāra. He, however, refers to the drinking of *Soma* according to the *Yājñika* school, which conferred this privilege on that person alone in whose family no one had suffered social degradation during the preceding three generations. (*evam hi yājñikāḥ paṭhanti-daśapuruṣā nūkam yasya gṛhe śūdra na vidyiran sa somam pibed iti*).[63] According to Manu, the economic prosperity of the individual weighed in his claim to drink *Soma*, that is, he possessed food, enough to last for three years or more, with which to maintain his dependents (*yasya trai vārṣikam bhaktam paryāptam bhṛtyavanattaya adhikam vā api vidyet sa soman pātum arhati*).[64] If the *Soma* was drunk with a stock less than the prescribed one (*svalpîyasi dravye yaḥ*), the labour was wasted (*na tasya āpnoti tat phalam*).[65]

Minor Sacrifices

There were certain minor sacrifices, like, *navayajña*[66] and *cāturmāsya*.[67] The former, according to Gobhila,[68] was an offering of the first fruits of the harvest; and a mass of boiled rice grains with milk, sacred to Indra and *Agni*, was prepared. The latter represented three sacrifices performed at the beginning of the three seasons of four months, each viz. *Vaiśvadevam, Varuṇopraghāsaḥ* and *Sākamedhaḥ*.[69] These coincided with the beginning of three seasons on the full moon days of the month of Phāluguna, Āṣāḍha, and Kārttika.[70] There are also references to certain other rites, as for instance, *Sthālipāka*,[71] *Cāru*,[72] *Puroḍāsa*[73] and *Kapāla*,[74] which may be considered in detail later on.

Priests, Accessories and Duration of Sacrifices

The beginning of a Vedic sacrifice was preceded by the recitation of sacred *mantras*, popularly called *Svastivācana*, which was followed by *Puṇyāha vācana*, recited for wishing an auspicious day, while *Śānti vācana*[75] averted an evil. The Bhāṣyakāra actually refers to a *mantra* recited in sacrifice—*asravantim āruhemā svastaye*.[76] The principal ceremony was

known as *Prayāja.*[77] Its performer was called *Ṛtvij*[78] and the sacrificer was known as *Yajamāna.*[79] The *Adhvaryu*[80] priest, distinct from the *Hotṛ*[81] and *Udgātṛ*,[82] had to perform numerous functions, like measuring the ground, building the altar, preparing sacrificial vessels, fetching wood and water, lighting the fire and finally bringing the animal to the sacrificial post and immolating it. While engaged in these duties, the hymns of the *Yajurveda* had to be repeated by him.[83] *Neṣṭā* (*Neṣṭṛ*)—the other priest, mentioned in the Vedic literature,[84] was engaged in the ritual of the *Soma* sacrifice. As one of the chief officiating priests, he led forward the wife of the sacrificer, and prepared the *surā.* The priests connected with the *Ṛgveda* sacrifices and mentioned by Patañjali, are: *Hotā* (*Hotṛ*), and *Potā* (*Potṛi*).[85] The functions of the former are clearly defined in the *Ṛgveda.*[86] his chief duty being the recitation of the Śāstras. The latter, too, was one of the priests mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, and in the *Brāhmaṇas.*[87] It is presumed by its derivation from the root *Pu*—to purify, that he was engaged in the purification of *Soma*, and actually sang *Soma* hymns. Oldenberg's suggestion[88] that he ceased in later literature to be a priest of any importance, save a mere name, may be true. Patañjali compares the two terms without further comments. The other priests mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra are: *Praśāsta* (*Praśāstṛ*) and *Pratihartā* (*Pratihārtṛ*)[89] and *Agnîḍha.*[90] Their functions are not defined, but in earlier times *Praśāstṛ* appeared as *Hotṛ*'s assistant[91] while *Pratihārtṛ* was attached to the *Udgātṛ,* as we find in the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas.[92] The last one was connected with the *Atharvaveda* confining himself to the kindling of fire, as his designation suggests. There is, however, no reference in the *Mahābhāṣya* to the requisitioning of their services in actual sacrifices.

The accessories to a sacrifice included, firstly, the special area with a place for recitation (*stuti-bhūmi*) and the *avaskara,*[93] a pit for throwing refuse which are not mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra. The *kuśa*[94] grass, also called *Pa itra* in the *Kāśikā,*[95] was used in sacrifices. In the *Soma* sacrifice, the *Pūtikā* grass (*pūtikatṛṇa*) was substituted though *Soma* had not become obsolete (*Vede'pi somasya sthāne pūtikatṛṇāny abhiṣunuyād ity uchyate na ca tatra somo bhūtapūrvo bhavati*).[96] Patañjali comments on the Sūtra relating to the irregular for-

mation of the word '*dvaṃdva*' in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a limit, a separation employing in a sacrificial vessel (*yajñapātra*), and manifestation,[97] but does not refer to that part relating to sacrificial cups which are accessories in a Vedic sacrifice. The oblation material was known as *sāmnāyya*,[98] a substance mixed with clarified butter and offered as a burnt offering. It was especially an offering of the Agnihotris, consisting of milk taken from a cow on the evening of the new moon mixed on the next day with other milk, and offered with clarified butter.[99] The oblations were prepared or offered in five cups or bowls (*pañcakapāla*) or in ten (*daśakapāla*).[100] The Vedis were constructed for sacrificial purpose, but there is no reference to the material used in preparing these altars which needed special class of bricks, as mentioned by Pāṇini (*tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra itiṣṭakasu luk ca matoḥ*).[101] The fire was kindled by the priest, followed by offering oblations with the recitation of *mantras* (*tathā agnau kapālāny adhisṛtya abhi-mantrayate*).[102]

The important part in such sacrifices was the recitation of the *mantras* for invoking Vedic deities. There was an injunction against the use of the *apa-śabdas* in *yajñas* (*yajñe punaḥ karmāṇi nāpabnāsante.*)[103] A bad sacrificer was called *yajñikapāśa*.[104] The *mantras* differed according to the nature of sacrifices. Patañjali refers to the *Rājasūya mantras*, as well as to those meant for the *Agniṣṭoma* and *Vājapeya* sacrifices (*agniṣṭome bhavo mantro'gniṣṭomaḥ-rājasūyaḥ vājapeyaḥ*).[105] The technical word *juhoti* is used for those sacrificial ceremonies to which the root *hu* and not *yaj* is applied.[106] The adaptable nature of the Vedic *mantras*, with reference to case endings not provided for, may suggest that Patañjali had first hand information for sacrificial ceremonies (*na sarvair liṅgair na ca sarvābhir vibhaktibhir vede mantrā nigaditāḥ.*)[107] The other technical words *udgrābha* and *nigrābha* [108] are used in the sense of 'the uplifting' and 'falling' of *śruk* (*udgrābha nigrābh iti amau 'śabdau chandasi vaktavyau srug udyamānani patanayor arthayoḥ*).[109] It is equally interesting to notice the reference to the *Sāmidheni mantras* becoming seventeen in number by the threefold repetition of the first and the last hymns (*saptadaśa sāmidhenyo bhavantīti triḥ prathmām anāha trir uttamām ity avṛttitah saptadaśatvam bhavati.*[110] He also comments on the Sūtra *ye*

yajña karmaṇi, giving special accentuation to the vowel of *ye* forming part of the sentence '*ye yajāmahe*' which was to be uttered with circumflex accent (*pluta*) only, during the process of the sacrifice (*ye yajāmahe śabdo brūhyādiṣu upasamkhyeyaḥ*).[111] The muttering of the *mantras* generally accompanied the burning of *yajñasamidh*, as is done even now (*bhṛsam japati brahmaṇaḥ bhṛsam samidho dahātīty eva*).[112]

The duration of sacrifices, fruits accruing from them, the *dakṣiṇā* given to the Brāhmaṇas, and the latter's relation with the *yajamāna* are some other minor points worth consideration. The Bhāṣyakāra has referred to the *yajñas* lasting for a hundred, or even a thousand years, (*dīrgha sattrāṇi vārṣaśatikāni vārṣasahasrikāṇi ca*); but they were no longer in practice, and only heard of in ritualistic portion of the Vedic literature (*na ca adyatve kaścid api vyavaharati kevalam ṛṣi sampradāyo dharma iti kṛtvā yājñikaḥ śāstreṇa anuvidhate*).[113] There were others lasting for four months (*caturṣu māseṣu bhavāni cāturmāsyāni yajñāḥ*).[114] The *Pañca-mahāyajña* was to be performed every day. As regards the fruits of a sacrifice, the performer of an *Agniṣṭoma* was supposed to be free from rebirth (*kuto nu khalv etad agniṣṭoma yājñity etad upapadam bhaviṣyati na punar jāniteti*)[115] The sacrificial fee—*dakṣiṇā*, however, varied. Patañjali refers to a gelded bull as *dakṣiṇā* (*mahāniraṣṭo dakṣiṇā dīyate*).[116] The relations between the priests and the *yajamānas* were of a cordial nature, known as *śrauyasambandha*,[117] that is, relationship through *śruvā* or ladle which was placed on a par with others emanting from money (*artha*), blood (*vauna*) and education (*maukha*).

Vedic Gods

The list of Vedic deities, noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya* is not as comprehensive as we find in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and this is an indication of the swing towards popular divinities, especially, those connected with the cult of *bhakti* or devotion. A few Vedic ones are also noticed, like, Indra, Śakra, Puruhata and Puraṃdara, which were, no doubt, different names of one god (*bahavo hi śabdā ekārthā bhavanti*).[118] The principal Vedic deities noticed are: Agni,[119] Vāyu,[120] Sūrya,[121] Rudra, (*Paśunā Rudram yajate*),[122] Prajāpati (*eṣa vai śaptadaśākṣāras chandasyah prajāpātir yajñam anuvihitaḥ*)[123]. Marut (*agnir vā ito vṛṣṭim iṭṭe maruto'mutas*

cyāyavantîti),[124] Apāmnāptṛ, mentioned by Pāṇini also, in the same Sūtra (*aponoptra-pāmnāptribhyām ghaḥ*), Varuṇa, Vāyu a~d Āditya (*Indras tvaṣṭā varuṇo vāyur āditya*),[125] and Viṣṇu,[126] who enjoyed a high position amongst the votaries of the Bhāgavata cult. There are also references to dual divinities, like Mitra and Varuṇa (*Mitravaruṇau ijyamānaḥ*),[127] Dyau and Pṛthivī (Dyāvāpṛthivī)[128], Agni and Soma (*Agni-Somau*)[129] and Vāyu-Varuṇa (*Vāyu-Varuṇam*).[130]

Post-Vedic Deities

These include some Vedic ones as well whose worship was continued in that period. A few names are synonymous. Indra with his other names, mentioned earlier, is praised a number of times for his killing the demon Vṛtra, and is styled *Vṛtrahan*.[131] Śiva and Viṣṇu were very popular with separate cults. The former is given other names like, Bhava, Sarva,[132] Girīśa (*girau śete Girišaḥ*)[133], Mahādeva (*Kakuddoṣam yācate Mahādevaḥ*)[134], and *Trayambaka* (*Trayambakam yajāmahe*).[135] These are some of the eight names of Śiva mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*.[136] Skanda (*Kārttikeya*) is also mentioned in association with Viśākha.[137] Patānjali seems to mention the synonyms of certain deities in the expression—*Brahmaprajāpati Śivavaiśravaṇau Skandaviśākhau*.[138] *Kṛṣṇa*[139] also figures prominently. The deities were supposed to possess infinite wisdom (*devājñātum arhanti*).[140] The gods of constellations—the sun and the moon were also venerated (*ādityam upatiṣṭhate candramāsam upatiṣṭhate*).[141] The Paurāṇic conception of heaven and hell (*naraka*),[142] the emergence of the Kaliyuga (*kalirdevatāsya kāleya's caruḥ*)[143] and the fight between the Devas and Asuras (*devāsuram-rākṣasosuram*)[144] was well-known. One also finds certain particular popular features like, emphasis on charity which entitled one to a place in heaven (*yo bhavatam odanam dāsyati sa svargam lokām gamiṣyati*).[145] There is a reference to gods, called Nilimpā classed as supernatural beings (*nilimpānāma devāḥ*).[146] The images of these deities were worshipped by the people.

Certain female divinities mentioned are: Lakṣmī,[147] wife of Viṣṇu; and Suparṇī.[148] Patañjali, commenting on II.2.34, has also noticed, or probably composed a verse in which it is stated that certain musical instruments were played in a gathering in

the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma and Keśava (*mṛdaṅga śaṅkhā tūṇavāḥ pṛthaṅ nandanti saṃsadi prāsāde dhanapatirāmakeśavānām*).[149] Rāma and Keśava are rightly identified with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa and it is clear from this reference that there were festive gatherings at that time in their temples.

Images

Pāṇini mentions the term *Pratikṛti*,[150] meaning portraits, but Patañjali uses the word *arcā* denoting images. The famous Sūtra *Jīvikārthe cāpaṇye*, which has been the subject of so much discussion is helpful on this point. These images were not saleable (*apaṇya*), but were kept in temples for the purpose of worship (*yāsity etāḥ sampratipujārthās tāsu bhaviṣyati*), serving, incidentally, as means of livelihood to their owners. The comment on this Sūtra questions the validity of the dropping of *ka* in such forms as, *Śivaḥ*, *Skandaḥ* and *Viśākhaḥ*, since the Mauryas, desirous of obtaining gold, sold objects of worship (*Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir arcāḥ prakalpitāḥ*).[151] It is important for two reasons: firstly, it testifies to the worship of these divinities in that period, and secondly, it refers to the metal used for making these images. Kauṭilya has also referred to the installation of the images of Śiva and Vaiśravaṇa in temples (*Śiva vaiśravaṇāśviśrīmaṇḍirāgṛham ca purāmadhye kārayet*).[152] The *Gaṇapāṭha* cites the compound *Skandaviśākhau* along with *Brahmaprajāpati*, and *Śivavaiśravaṇau*.[153] According to the Bhāṣyakāra, these gods were not mentioned in pairs in Vedic literature, but only in *loka* (*vartamāne punar dvandvagrahaṇasya etat prayojanam lokavedayor yo dvandvas tatra yathā syāt na ca vede sahanirvāpā nirdiṣṭaḥ*).[154]

The cult of the Yakṣas and Nāgas, with their female counterparts, whose statues have been found, is another phase in the study of popular divinities in that period. It is natural to presume that devotion or *bhakti* played an important part in the setting up of these images. As regards the antiquity of Skanda and Viśākha, they seem to be earlier than the time of Patañjali. According to D.R. Bhandarkar,[155] Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena were in olden days names of four different gods. He based his contention on the reference to Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena with separate figures on the coins of Huviṣka, and Amarsiṃha's allusion to only

one of the four names in each of the four lines of his two verses relating to Kārttikeya. R G Bhandarkar[156] had suggested that the three names represented only one deity on Huviṣka's coins. The distinct individuality of the two divinities seems clear from the reference in the *Mahābhāṣya*, though the evidence is considered inconclusive by those who attach importance to the absence of Viśākha's name, as a deity, in early or later literature.[157]

Bhaktism-Bhāgavata Cult

The feeling of devotion or attachment to a particular deity, recognising others as manifestations of the same, was not new to this period. Its existence can be traced in earlier literature. Pāṇini seems to refer to it in his reference to Vāsudeva and Arjuna in the Sūtra *Vāsudevārjunābhyām vun.*[158] It is clear, as suggested in the *Kāśikā*, that Vāsudeva mentioned in this Sūtra was not a Kṣatriya name but that of Kṛṣṇa, and the person attached to him was known as Vāsudevaka (*Vāsudevobhaktir asya Vāsudevakaḥ*).[159] The propitiation of deities is implied in another Sūtra of Pāṇini which refers to the morphology of names, as Varuṇadatta and Āryamadatta; the ending *datta* denoted a benediction from a god, or a higher power of which the personal name became a symbolic expression (*kārakadattaśrutayor evāśisi*).[160] It is, therefore, presumed that the *bhakti*-cult dates back, at least, to the time of the Sūtrakāra. R.G. Bhandarkar had suggested[161] two religious movements during the period of intellectual ferment: the one in the east, which believed in self-abnegation and a course of strict moral conduct; and the other connected with the Sātvatas in western India which attached importance to devotion in a supreme God. The Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* traces the evolution of the second course. The supreme God is named Hari whose worship is not completely free from religious sacrifices. The next stage is marked by the association of Vāsudeva with his son, grandson, and brother, who became objects of veneration presiding over certain psychological categories, or as persons created by Him for the purpose. Patañjali has given interesting information on this point. Vāsudeva and Baladeva are classed by him[162] as derivatives from Vṛṣṇi names in the sense of sons of Vāsudeva and Baladeva.

It is contended that the Sātvatas of of the *Mahābhārata* was another name of the Vṛṣṇi race to which Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa and Aniruddha belonged. The religion of the Sātvatas, associated with Vāsudeva in the *Mahābhārata*, culminated in the time of Patañjali when other members, connected with Vāsudeva, were also revered. The life and activities of the supreme lord became objects of exhibition to the people in different ways. Patañjali, besides mentioning the names of Kṛṣṇa and Janārdana,[163] the synonyms of Vāsudeva, also referred to the festive gatherings in the temples of Keśava (*Vāsudeva*) and Rāma (*Balarāma*). The references[164] to Vāsudeva *bhaktas*, the staging of Balibandha—connected with Viṣṇu, and the slaying of Kaṃsa by Kṛṣṇa himself, are some of the additional proofs of the growing spirit of devotion to the Lord who was addressed by different names. There is a reference to the Vyūha of Kṛṣṇa and his acolytes (*Janārdanas tv ātma-caturtha eva*),[165] meaning 'Janārdhana, whose self is the fourth in a constituent group'. The Vedic god Viṣṇu, later, a synonym of Vāsudeva, is compounded with Indra in one reference,[166] and with Agni in another.[167] This need not mislead us in presuming distinct personalities of Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa. It is true that Viṣṇu, as a Vedic deity, was frequently invoked, though not placed in the foremost rank; but in the post-Vedic period he assumed the supreme place condescending to become incarnate for the emancipation of human beings. It may, therefore, be suggested that one stream of religious thought emanated from Viṣṇu, the Vedic god; the other from Vāsudeva, the historic personality associated at first with the Sātvatas; and these two, mingling with another merging with Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic and philosophic god, gave rise to the cult of Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva Bhaktism. The identification of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu is established, and Keith referred[168] to it long ago. The evidence from the epigraphic and archaeological sources is also helpful in assessing the nature and flourishing state of this cult which attracted even foreigners.

Amongst the epigraphic records of this period, the most important one is the Besnagar pillar inscription, which mentions the setting up of the Garuḍa Column (*garuḍadhvaja*) of Vāsudeva, the god of gods (*devādeva*) by Heliodorus, a Bhāgavata, son of Dion, and an inhabitant of Taxila who came

as Greek Ambassador from King Antialkidas to Kāśīputra King Bhāgabhadra. A fragment of the shaft of another octagonal column, evidently from Besnagar, and found in a narrow street at Bhilsa, bears a Brāhmī inscription in one line recording the erection of the Garuḍa column of the excellent temple of the Bhāgavat (*Bhāgavataḥ prāsādo*) by Gautamīputra, a Bhāgavata. These two records[169] from Besnagar are Vaiṣṇavite in character, since Garuḍa appears as the Vāhana of Viṣṇu. According to the *Mahābhārata*, Garuḍa, in return for boons granted to him by Viṣṇu, himself offered a boon to him who made the bird his vehicle.[170]

The next inscription[171] is the Ghasundi stone slab found about 4 miles north-east of Nagari in the Udaipur State (Rajasthan). It is engraved in Brāhmī characters of the second century BC, and records the erection of a stone enclosure of worship for Bhāgavat Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, within the enclosure of Nārāyaṇa, by Bhāgavat Gajāyana, son of Parāśari. The Nārāyṇavaṭa, or the enclosure of the Lord, denotes the compound of a temple or place of worship, while *Pūjāśilāprākarā* stands for Bhāgavat Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva evidently referring to a smaller stone enclosure, probably, round the images representing Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vasudeva within the Nārāyaṇavaṭa. The cosmic philosophic god Nārāyaṇa, whose name is not traced in the *Mahābhāṣya*, thus, completes the *triveṇī*, or the tree streams of thought mingling together to form the cult of Vaiṣṇavism.

Now, as regards the relation of Saṃkarṣaṇa with Vāsudeva, the Nanaghat cave inscription[172] mentions them as the descendants of the moon (*Camda-Candra*) along with *Dhamma* (*Dharma*), Ida (Indra) and the guardians of the four cardinal points: Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, and Vāsudeva. R.P. Chanda, quoting the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata*, and Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Vedāntasūtras* suggested[173]: that these two of the forms (*Vyūhas*) were worshipped by the *Pañcarātras* or Bhāgavatas. The *Vyūhas* were Vāsudeva, or the highest self *Samkarṣaṇa*, or the individual soul, *Pradyumna* or the mind (*manas*), and *Aniruddha* or the principle of egoism (*ahaṃkāra*) in descending order; and according to the orthodox view, the highest *Brahman* called Vāsudeva abides in a four fold form, or relveals itself by dividing its four-fold as the four *Vyūhas*. In

all these expositions, Vāsudeva is mentioned first, followed by Saṃkarṣaṇa. In this inscription the order is reversed, and it is presumed that in those days Saṃkarṣaṇa was popularly recognised as a divinity equalling Vāsudeva in rank. Kauṭilya also mentions[174] this god. R.P. Chanda, therefore, suggested two forms of Vāsudevaism—the worship of Vāsudeva, as 'the god of gods', and also as a god second to Saṃkarṣaṇa, in the second century BC thereby, indicating that the basic cult originated at a much earlier period.

Another record is the Mora stone slab inscription[175] of the time Mahākṣatrapa Rājuvula. Though it is placed about the early part of the first century AD, its importance lies here in the second line beginning with *Bhagavaṭā (vṛ)(ṣ)ṇe(na) Pañcavīrānām pratimā.* If Bhāgavata Vṛṣṇena is construed as *Bhagavato vṛṣṇeḥ*, as suggested by Chanda,[176] then it may refer to the setting up of an image of the blessed or the divine *Vṛṣṇi*, that is Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, who belonged to the Vṛṣṇi branch of the Yādava race (*Vṛṣṇinām Vāsudevo'smi*).[177] A Mathurā inscription[178] of the time of the great Kṣatrapa Śoḍāsa, son of Rājuvula, also refers to the shrine of the Bhagavat Vāsudeva (*Bhagavato Vāsudevasya mahāsthāna*).

Now the association of Vāsudeva with Baladeva and the Vṛṣṇis is also noted by Patañjali (*Vāsudevaḥ-Bāladevaḥ-ṇyasya-sa eva viṣyakṣeno nāma vṛṣṇīs tasmād ubhayām prāpnoti*).[179] On the basis of the literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources, the following conclusions may be drawn—Firstly, the Bhāgavata cult is not new to this period, but dates back, at least, to the time of Pāṇini. Secondly, Viṣṇu, the Vedic deity, was identified with Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa, a general name Vāsudeva—Bhāgavata cult denoted Vaiṣṇavism. Thirdly, both Balarāma and Vāsudeva, who were historical personalities associated with the Vṛṣṇīs, had attained divine status, with their images consecrated in temples where there were festive gatherings. Fourthly, the *Vyūhas* of Vāsudeva also found a place in the divine pantheon. It is clear that Saṃkarṣaṇa enjoyed a divine position along with Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu. Thus, what was supposed to be a localized religious stream of thought, gradually expanded in eastern and southern directions. This cult, a synthesis of different religious thoughts, also attracted foreigners.

Śaivism

There are two references in the *Mahābhāṣya* which suggest a separate cult of the Śaivas, the devotees of Śiva: *Śiva-bhāgavata*[180] and *Śiva-vaiśravaṇau.*[181] The first refers to the devotees of Śiva who carried an iron lance, as the emblem of that deity (*yo'yahśūlena anviccati sa ayaḥ śūlikaḥ kim cātaḥ śiva bhāgavate prāpnoti*). It is suggested[182] that, despite the inapplicability of the word *āyaḥ-śūlika* in its literal sense to *Śiva-bhāgavata* the meaning 'one who took recourse to extreme harsh or rash measures to seek an end, which could be secured by milder methods', alludes to the existence of this cult-whose members used an iron spear as a distinctive mark. One, however, feels that the two classes of Śiva devotees have to be distinguished—the *Āyaḥ śūlikas* carried an iron trident or *triśūla* and practised penance and other *dhūta* rites; but there were lay devotees who propitiated the benign deity through their offerings. A sentence in the comment on the Sūtra *Jîvakārthe cāpaṇve* refers to the *arcā* or image of Śiva which was placed in front for the purpose of worship (*yās tv etāḥ samprati pūjarthās tāsu bhaviṣyati*).[183] *Liṅga* worship had not come into form by that time. Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were adored by many people, and their images were a source of living to their keepers. The evidence, advanced by the *Atharva Śiraṣa Upaniṣad* and the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata*, on the position of Śiva as a divinity and the different branches or offshoots of Śaivism is valuable. The former designates him as a 'Bhāgavat', while the latter refers to Pāśupata, as one of the five schools of religious doctrines which had revelations from Śīva Śrīkaṇṭha. This school, according to R.G. Bhandarkar,[184] rose about the second century BC, but it is not mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya.* One can hardly deny that Śaivism, as a separate cult, existed earlier than the time of Patañjali in the light of Megasthenes' reference[185] to the cults of Dionysus and Heracles, and the evidence furnished by the *Mahābhārata* on this point, but it is difficult to suggest the different schools into which it had branched off in that period. To be more precise, it may be proposed that the votaries of Śiva included those who took recourse to harsh and rash measures for seeking their end, as well as ordinary lay worshippers who believed in propitiation through devotion.

Ascetic Orders

Groups of wandering mendicants, or those living in solitary meditation were not unknown. Patañjali tries to explain their philosophy which upheld inaction, and their creed was different from that of the Brāhmaṇa or *Śramaṇa* religious groups. The practice of asceticism served to reveal supreme wisdom (*tapas tāpasam sedavati.*)[186] The ascetics were noted for their matted hair (*jaṭā*),[187] beard (*śmaśru*), and the use of a water-pot (*kamaṇḍalu*),[188] The staff (*daṇḍa*) varied according to the groups—as for instance, the Parivrājaka had three staves (*triviṣṭ abdhakam drṣṭvā parivrājaka iti*), but a Daṇḍin had a single *kṣatra.*[189] The Parivrājakas are also mentioned by Pāṇini in his Sūtra—*Maskaramaskaiṇau Veṇuparivrājakayoḥ.*[190] This ascetic order included a Maskarin, in it is suggested by Patañjali in his comment that a Maskarin Parivrājaka was so called, not because of his *maskara*—the bamboo staff (*na vai maskaro'syāsti-iti maskari parivrājaka*) but for his doctrine of inactivity seeking peace as the highest end (*mā kṛta karmāṇi mā kṛta karmāṇi śāntir vaḥ 'srevas ity āhāto maskarī parivrājakaḥ*).[191] This policy was endorsed by the Ājīvikas who believed in quietism. According to the Buddhist literature,[192] the Ājīvikas recognized only three as their leaders—Nanda, Vaccha, Kisa Sankicca and Makkhali Gosāla. Their precept *natthi kammam nātthi kīriyam nātthi viriyam*, also set forth at greater length in the Sāmañña-phala-sutta of the *Dīghanikāya,*[193] suggests that the attainment of a given condition of any character does not depend either on one's own acts, or on those of another, or on human effort. There is no such thing as power or energy, strength or human vigour.[194]

The identification of Maskarins with the Ājīvikas is fairly certain, and it is confirmed by the fact that Gosāla, the last of the leaders, is called Makkhali—the Pāli form of the Sanskrit Maskarin in Pāli literature. A late work, quoted by D.R. Bhandarkat[195], also suggested the identity of the Ājīvikas with the Maskarins, and it is proposed on the basis of the reference to the word *śikhin* of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, agreeing with the *uttuṅgajaṭā* of the *Jānakī-haraṇa*, that an Ājīvika was really a *tridaṇḍin*, and not an *ekadaṇḍin* as supposed by Utpala. The *tridaṇḍin Parivrājaka*, mentioned by Patañjali, may be taken as on Ājīvika in the general sense. It is probable that the Bhāṣyakāra, while referring

to the Parivrājakas as identical with Maskarins, had in mind the system of the Ājīvikas who had lately received benefactions of caves at Nāgārjunī from Emperor Daśaratha of the Mauryan dynasty.[196] They are not noticed separately. The group also included female ascetics (*śankarā nāma-parivrājaka*).[197]

The Daṇḍins[198], with a single staff, formed a separate group dating back to the period of Brāhmaṇas,[199] and are mentioned by Pāṇini[200], and Manu[201], as well. Manu actually describes their appearance. The Daiṣṭikas (*diṣṭam ity asya matir daiṣṭikaḥ*)[202] mentioned in analogy to the other two terms—*āstika* and *nāstika*, probably belonged to the school of Makkhali which repudiated *karman* as the means of attaining one's end.

The Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas had separate orders, in constant opposition to the other (*yeṣām ca virodha ity asya avakāśāḥ*).[203] The term *śramaṇa* included all non-Brahmanical orders. The earliest reference to this clear-cut division is given by Megasthenes, who mentions[204] Brachmanes or the Brāhmaṇas and Gormanes viz., Śramaṇas. The distinction is maintained in Aśokan inscriptions as well. According to the Udāna, there were various sects of Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas—followers of different *Diṭṭhis*, that is, systems of *Darśanas*, and having separate organisations (*sambahulā nānāditthiyā samaṇabrāhmaṇā paribbājaka sāvatthim piṇḍāya pavisanti nānāḍiṭṭhikā nānākhantikā nânārucikā nānāditthinissavanissita*).[205] The two classes of ascetics, called Parivrājakas, or the wandering class, have been mentioned in the Buddhist literature[206] under two main headings—the Brāhmaṇas and the Aññatitthivas. It seems that the word *śramaṇa* mentioned by Patañjali, denoted ascetic orders distinct from those of the Brāhmaṇas, though its use may have been restricted to Buddhists alone during certain times. The Bhāṣyakāra has not mentioned *śramaṇī*—Pāli *samaṇî*—the female ascetics who are referred to in the *Samyutta-nikāya*.[207] The practice of initiating ladies was forbidden, except at the Vāṇaprastha stage along with their husbands (*strīyām ca pravrājaytaḥ*)[208], but things were different in the *śramaṇa* orders—both Buddhist and Jains.

→ *Popular Religious Beliefs*

The keynote of Indian religious belief has been the emphasis laid on the spiritual and moral side of human life, resulting

in peoples anxiety to perform good deeds. This spirit prompted them to create dedications for some sacred purpose. The endowments at Bhārhut, and on the railing at Sāñcī, which were made in this period, are exclusively Buddhist, but one finds a peculiar phenomenon which was first pointed out by Bühler, and later considered afresh by Sir John Marshall. Bühler referred[209] to the existence of Paurāṇic worship at the time when these records were inscribed. If name could be suggestive of the religious beliefs then those like Arhadatta, Dharmarakhita, Bodhi, and Saṃgharakhita are Buddhist; Agideva and Viśvadeva relate to ancient Vedic worship. Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism seem evident from such names like, Nāga Nagila and Nāgadatta; Viṇhuka and Opedadatta; and Nādiguta Samikā and Śivanandi respectively. John Marshall points[210] to the Yakṣa cult, evidently on the basis of names such as, Yakhadasi, Yakhadina, Yakhi and Yakhila. The presence of these folk cults in the second century BC, is proved by the Yakṣa and Yakṣī figures on the balustrade of the Bhārhut stupa. In case the donors were interested in Paurāṇic worship, as suggested by Bühler, then how are they associated with Buddhist dedications? Did Buddha have a place in the Brahmanical pantheon, or was he adored by the worshippers of the demi-gods, or did the people believes in eclecticism? The answer to the questions is quite simple. It is probable that the donors were all Buddhists, and the use of these affixes is not a sure proof of the existence of these cults; but one may take a broader view and presume that the ordinary people in that period were anxious to obtain merit from whatever quarter, and through whatever process it was available. Therefore, these donors did not hesitate to make endowments for Buddhism, because they thought that by so doing they could acquire merit in the next world. This catholic outlook of a Hindu, even at present, prompts him to visit the Bodh-Gayā temple and give *dakṣiṇā* when he visits Gayā for performing *Pitṛ* oblations.

People also worshipped the lower order of divine beings—the Yakṣas and the Nāgas—for fear of their destructive powers, and a desire to obtain boons from them. This is evident from numerous statues of such demi-gods which have been found with inscriptions recorded on them, and their figures carved on the Bhārhut gateway and those at Sāñcī. According to

Coomaraswamy[211], Yakṣa worship was a *bhakti*-cult, with images, temples, altars and offerings, and as the greater deities of all, from a popular point of view, be regarded as Yakṣas, we may safely recognize in the worship of the latter (together with Nāgas and goddesses) the natural source of the *bhakti*-cult, common to the whole sectarian development, which was taking place before the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa period. This shows that the people at that time were not sectarian in their outlook. The Hindu ethics enjoins upon every householder certain moral and spiritual obligations, and stress is laid on '*śraddhā*[212] and *tyāga*'[213]—faith and a spirit of sacrifice, classed as *dharmaniyamas* (*dharmāya niyamo dharmaniyamaḥ—dharmārtho vā niyamo dharmaniyamaḥ*)[214] meaning a restriction on oneself for the sake of religious merit as its result, or with religious merit as its object. The popular belief in ethical and moral responsibilities was deep-rooted in the masses.

Buddhism

Popular religion of which the fabric was woven out of cults and traces, as pointed out by John Marshall[215] did not leave Buddhism unaffected. The sculptures at Bhārhut and Sāñcī furnish numerous illustrations of sacred objects and divinities, drawn from the ancient religions of the people. Names might have changed, but the cults remained immutable. Such cults were taken over by Buddhism from the popular religion of the masses, and for the masses. The icon of the Buddha had not yet come into existence, but the relic worship had acquired a significant and important place in the Buddhist form of worship. As parts of the body of the Lord, they served to create in the mind of the devotee a feeling of personal devotion and allegiance. Besides the Tathāgata, some of his important disciples like Sāriputra and Moggallāna, also claimed the privilege of their relics being enshrined in stupas. This stage, probably, reached in the Śuṅga Period. As regards the anti-Buddhist attitude of the first Śuṅga monarch, Sir John Marshall has hinted at the probable destruction of the earlier Sāñcī stūpa by this ruler, but we would like to leave the matter open without any comment. It is, however, clear that Buddhism was not inactive in this period. In an inscription[216] on the railing of

the Sāñci stupa, there is a reference to *ācarivakula*—a technical expression meaning 'a Buddhist school', and *annācarivakula*—'the other school'. It refers to an injunction against the removal of any property from Kākanāda to a non-Theravādin community, thereby suggesting that another school, probably of the Mahāsāṅghikas, had established itself at Sāñcī in the first century BC. The conservative school of the Theravādins became apprehensive of the dismemberment of their sacred edifice.

According to Kern[217], in the three centuries which elapsed between the death of Aśoka and the reign of Kaniṣka, Buddhism was steadily on the increase in north, flourishing in the domains of the Bactrian Greeks. The chronology based on literary documents being confused, it is unsafe to deduce any historical fact from traditions. It is a pity that, except for the clear-out evidence regarding the active state of Buddhism from the monuments and the epigraphic sources, literary proof is wanting.

Jainism

The Hāthigumphā inscription,[218] and a few others from Mathurā record dedications for Jainism. The invocation of the formulae (*namo arihantānam namo savasiddhānam*), the contents of the Kaliṅga record, and other old Brāhmī inscriptions[219] disclose the activity of this religious order. It enjoyed the patronage of King Khāravela and other donors. Inscription no. 11 of Khāravela's chief queen records that the cave commemorating her name was cut for the sake of Kaliṅga recluses of Arhata persuation (*Arhaṃta pasādanam Kaliṅgānam Samanānam*). During the thirteen years of Khāravela's reign, some 117 caves were excavated on the Kunārī hill to serve as resting places for the Arhats, or Jains residing there (*Arhato parinivāsato hi kāya nisīdivāya.*[220] Besides Kaliṅga, Mathurā was also an important centre of Jainism. Amongst the inscriptions, found and edited by Bühler, the earliest one has been assigned by him to the middle of the second century BC because of its exceedingly archaic characters and its language—pure Prākṛta of the Pāli type. This inscription[221] records dedication of an ornamental arch for the tample, the gift of the lay hearer Utaradasaka (Uttaradāsaka), son of Vācchi (Vatsī),

mother and disciple of the ascetic Mahārakhita (Mahārakṣita). The Āmohiṇī tablet inscription, dated in the year 42 of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa is another Jain record of about 15 BC or of AD. Lüders, while discussing the era of the Mahārāja and Rājātirāja, considered the Girdharpur and Lucknow Museum inscriptions of the years 270 and 292 (or 299) respectively. He presumed that the donors were Pārthians who had immigrated to Mathurā during the rule of the Kṣatrapas, and, despite their joining the Jain fold, they upheld the traditions of their native country.[222] It is an important phase of Jainism which suggests the assimilation of foreigners in their religious order.

Lokāyatas or Materialists

The Lokāyatas were not unknown in that period. Patañjali refers to Bhāguri as a famous exponent of this school who provided specimens of the Lokāyata doctrine according to his views (*varṇikā Bhāguri Lokāyatasya*), or way of life (*vārtikā Bhāguri lokāyatasya*).[223] The name of the founder of this school—Cārvāka is not mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra, but his philosophy was well-known. According to a legend in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*,[224] Bṛhaspati taught demons false knowledge of which the reward lasts only so long as the pleasure exists in order to hasten their destruction. In the *Ukṭhādigaṇa* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*,[225] a teacher and a pupil of this doctrine are called *Lokāyatika*. The system is referred to in the *Arthaśāstra*[226] (*saṃvaraṇamātram hi trayī lokavatrāvida iti*), and much earlier in a Jātaka.[227] A short account of this system is also given in the *Prabodhacandrodaya*. In the *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, a very late work, the system is examined from the Vedāntist standpoint, and Mādhava looks upon their philosophy as a lowest of all, but not to be ignored.

We have taken into account the religious condition of India during the time of Patañjali in all its aspects. One can hardly deny that with the advent of the Brahmanical Śuṅga ruler to power, there was a revival of Vedic sacrifices with greater enthusiasm, and the emperor himself performed two horse sacrifices. Is the statement of Patañjali relating to the performance of secrifice for Puṣyamitra be taken at its face value, then the Bhāṣyakāra probably officiated as a priest in any one of

these two sacrifices. The other Vedic *yajñas* were: *Agniṣṭoma*, *Rājasūya*, *Vājapeya*, and the *Yūpa* in which the sacrificial pillars of wood were set up. The householder had to perform the *Pañca-mahāyajña*, and the *śrāddhas* for the manes. The Vedic sacrifices, varying in duration and involving many accessories, were costly and complicated for ordinary people who were satisfied with devotion through propitiation. The *bhakti*-cult—confined to Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva, and Śiva was not new. The former was more popular and there were festive gatherings, as well as dramatic performances showing the life and activities of the Lord in his previous incarnations. The epigraphic and archaeological pieces of evidence corroborate the popularity of this cult. The ascetic orders of the Parivrājakas, and the Maskarins, evidently Ājīvikas, the Daṇḍins and the Daiśṭi, and those of the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, and the presence of the materialist—the Lokāyatikas, show an interesting aspect of religious life. People had not shaken off the worship of the demi-gods—the Yakṣas and Nāgas—with their female counter parts for fear and faith in them. An interesting study is the moral and ethical side of religious life, which manifested itself in the creation of dedications for Buddhism though the names of the donors suggest a different faith. Buddhism and Jainism were not inactive, and the latter seems to be more liberal in its attitude towards outsiders, if the two inscriptions quoted by Lüders, have any socio-religious value.

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[19]IV.3.66, p. 312.5, 8, 12.
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[145]III.3.7, p. 140.8.
[146]III.1.138, p. 92.12.
[147]I.4.3, p. 313.17.
[148]IV.1.44, p. 206.22.
[149]II.2.34, p. 436.5,
[150]V.3.36.
[151]V.3.99, p. 429.
[152]II.4, p. 55.

[153]II.4.14.
[154]VI.3 26, p. 149.2.
[155]*Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 22-23.
[156]*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, etc., p. 151.
[157]*IHQ*, vol. VII, p. 315.
[158]IV.3.98.
[159]p. 343.
[160]VI.2.148.
[161]Op. cit., pp. 9f.
[162]V.1.144, p. 257. 11-12.
[163]VI.3.5, p. 143.7.
[164]III.1.29, p. 34.16; p. 36.19.
[165]VI.3.5, p. 143.7.
[166]VI.1.36, p. 30.18.
[167]VI.3 28, p. 149.5.
[168]*JRAS*, 1908, pp. 169f.
[169]*ASI, An. Rep. 1913-14*, pt. II, p. 190.
[170]I.L.1510.
[171]*Lüder's List, EI*, vol. X, Appendix no. 6.
[172]Ibid., no. 1112.
[173]*Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition*, p. 164.
[174]p.403.
[175]*Lüders List*, op. cit., no. 14.
[176]Op. cit., p. 166.
[177]*Bhag. Gītā*, chap. X.37.
[178]*Lüders List*, op. cit.
[179]IV. 1.114, p. 257.11-12.
[180]V. 2.76, p 387.19.
[181]VI.3.26, p. 148.23.
[182]*IA*, vol. XLI, p. 272.
[183]V.3.99, p. 29.4.
[184]Op. cit., p. 116.
[185]*CHI*, vol. I, p. 408.
[186]VI.1.49, p. 38.7.
[187]VI.1.48, p. 37.20.
[188]II. 3.4, p. 445.7.
[189]II. 1.1, p. 365.21.
[190]VI.1.154.
[191]Ibid., p. 96.12-13.
[192]*Maj.*, I.524, *Vin.*, I.291.
[193]I. 53.54.
[194]Rhys Davids, *Dial.*, vol. I, pp. 71f.
[195]I. vol. XLI, 1912, p. 290.
[196]vol. I, pp. 103-4; 134.5.
[197]III.2.14, p. 100.6.
[198]V. 2.94, p. 393.19.
[199]*Śat. Brāh.*, XIII., 4.2.15.

[200] V. 2.115.
[201]VI.52. *Kliptakeśa nakha śmaśruḥ pātṛi daṇḍī kusumbhavān vicaren niyato nityam sarvabhūtānya apīdayan.*
[202]IV.4.60, p. 332.19.
[203]II. 4.12, p. 476.9.
[204]Frag, XLI, Strabo, XV. I.59.
[205]*PTS*, 1885, p. 66.
[206]*Aṅg.* I.65. 240; *Dīg.*, III.115.
[207]I. 333, cf. also *Jat.* V. 424 ; *Vin.*, IV. 235.
[208]Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, II.1.
[209]*EI*, vol. II, p. 95.
[210]*The Monuments of Sāñcī*, pp. 299.
[211]*Yakṣas*, p. 37.
[212]I.4.59, p. 341.23.
[213]III. 1.26, p. 34.5.
[214]I.1.1, p. 8.4-5.
[215]Op. cit., p. 24.
[216]*JBORS*, vol. III, pp. 4f.
[217]*Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 48.
[218]*JBORS*, vol III, pp. 425f.
[219]*D.R. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 279f.
[220]Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, p. 28.
[221]*EI*, vol.II, p. 199.
[222]*D.R. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 288.
[223]VII.3.45, p. 325.24.
[224]VII.8.
[225]IV.2.60.
[226]p.6.
[227]VI.286.

Chapter 8

Literature

The importance of the *Mahābhāṣya* lies in its attempt to elucidate with comments on the Sūtras of Pāṇini taking into consideration the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana as well as in the information it provides on the literature known to Patañjali, his use of the earlier data, and the ornate metres in poetry with a few new ones. The Bhāṣyakāra was himself well-versed in the Vedic, Sūtra and the Smṛti literatures; and one can trace parallelism in his work. There are references to characters from the Epics, the Purāṇas, Poetics or *Kāvya* with systematic use of metres, ornamentation (*alaṃkāra*), drama and dramatic literature, and popular fiction, known as *ākhyāna*. The grammarian also presents philosophical data in his work, and other topics, not mentioned in the previous chapters, as for example, Medicine, Policy and Administration, Natural Science including Biology. It is natural to presume from these references that there was some literature on these subjects with which Patañjali was familiar. As a literary piece, the *Mahābhāṣya* presents a style of its own, which has little room for ornamentation, and a clear comprehension is attainable with a patient study of the work. In this chapter, we propose considering these aspects in detail.

Vedic Literature and the Mahābhāṣya

Besides a number of verses, given in parts[1] in the *Mahābhāṣya* which are quoted from the Vedic literature, Patañjali actually mentions five verses in full which are taken from the *Ṛgveda* and are also adduced in later Vedic literature. The most important is the one which Sāyaṇa, in conformity with the opinion of Yāska and others, applies to Agni, identified either with Yājña or with Āditya. ''Four are his horns, three are the feet that bear him; his heads are two, his hands are seven in number. Round with a triple bond the steer roars loudly; the Mighty God hath entered into mortals."[2] Mahīdhara's explanation of the verse differs from that of

Sāyaṇa, and the four horns are priests, or nouns, verbs, prepositions and the indeclinables; the three feet are the Vedas, or the first, second and third persons, or the past, present, and future tenses; the two heads are two sacrifices, or the agent and the object; the seven hands are the metres or the cases of the noun; and the three bonds are the three daily sacrifices, or the singular, dual and plural numbers.[3] A little modification can be suggested in grammatical interpretation, as probably presumed by Patañjali, namely, the two heads represent two kinds of words—enternal (*nitya*) and resultant (*kārya*) which are mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*.[4] "Bound the parts" i.e. bound in three places, namely, chest, throat and head. *Vṛṣabha* (the Bull), (comes from the root *vṛṣa*—to shower—to fulfil desire), *rovravīti* or makes sound. The Great God, entering the mortals is the *Śabda-Brahman*. This raises the question of the doctrine of *sphoṭa* which finally identifies sound with Brahman itself. This is not the solitary verse from the *Ṛgveda* which has been quoted to stress the need for the study of grammar, but there is another interesting one[5] which is taken from the *Ṛgveda*. It is a praise to the glorious god Varuṇa, across whose palate the seven rivers keep pouring as a fair-flowing (stream) into an abyss. According to Sāyaṇa's[6] metaphysical explanation of the last words—*Sūrmyam suṣirām iva*—they are quoted as applied by the grammarians to enforce the need for studying grammar, the seven rivers being taken to mean the seven declensional affixes. These two verses are quoted by Patañjali in his Introduction with a view to impressing on the minds of his readers that the study of grammar was absolutely necessary. He has all along stressed this fact; and it is considered as efficacious as the performance of a sacrifice. The stamp of Vedic sanctity was supposed to enhance the value of the subject matter of study, which could enable a person to have union with the Great God; and shine in truth (*śobhanam ūrmim suṣiram agnir antaḥ*).[7]

Explaining the division of words—viz. the division of speech into four, three of which are not manifested, he has quoted another verse[8] from the *Ṛgveda*. 'Speech hath been measured out in four divisions, the Brāhmaṇas who have understanding know them. Three kept in close concealment cause no motion; of speech, men speak only the fourth division. According to Sāyaṇa, the Brāhmaṇas here are those acquainted with *Śabda-*

brahman. The explanation of this mystical piece is different; and according to the grammatical interpretation of *catvāri vākpaimitā padāni*—the four parts of speech are noun, verb, prepositions and participles.[9]

The fourth form of speech (*catvāri*) is explained, according to some one else (*uta thaḥ*) as—"one (*man*) indeed seeing speech has not seen her; another (*man*) hearing her has not heard her; but to another she delivers her person as a loving wife well—attired presents herself to her husband."[10] Patañjali, quoting this verse from the *Ṛgveda*, further elucidates it in his comment. As a well-dressed wife desiring her husband's company, presents gently her person (to him), so speech reveals itself to one learned in speech (a grammarian). This verse is equally important from the metaphorial point of view which one also notices in another verse,[11] quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra from the *Ṛgveda*. "When the wise create speech through wisdom winnowing (sieving) it as (men winnow) barely with a sieve, then friends know friendship; good fortune is placed upon their word." The wise men, as explained by Patañjali, in their purified speech, sieve out corrupt words. From these verses, quoted in full, one draws the conclusion that Patañjali was not only well-grounded in the Vedas, but he fully utilized his Vedic knowledge in the service of grammar, and tried to explain the mysterious meaning of some the verses, quoted by him, in terms of grammatical values.

The influence of the later Vedic literature does not appear to be much on the *Mahābhāṣya*. Patañjali no doubt quotes the Vedic recensions which is nothing unusual for a scholar like him. He also refers to the *Yājñavalkya* and *Saulabha Brāhmaṇas* (*Yājñavalkyani Brāhmaṇāni—Saulabhāni*).[12] They were not early texts because of the inapplicability of the Sūtra *Chando brāhmaṇāni ca tadviṣayāni* (IV.2.66) which suggests that the affixes denoting the announcer, when added to the Chandas and the Brāhmaṇas express that relation only in the case of the two Brāhmaṇas stated above (*Yājñavalkyādibhyaḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). The reference to different works in the Sūtra literature, like the *Vārttika-sūtra*, *Saṃgraha sūtra* and *Kalpa-sūtra*[13] in the *Mahābhāṣya* only implies his familiarity with these works as with many *Kalpas*[14]—*Parāśara*, *Kaśyapa*, *Paiṅgi*, *Kuśika* and *Mahāvārttika*, which have been mentioned earlier.

Patañjali and Smṛti Literature

There are, however, a few passages in the *Mahābhāṣya* which can also be traced in the *Dharma-sūtras* and the Smṛtis. According to P.C. Chakravartty,[15] "Patañjali has given unmistakeable proof of his respectable knowledge of the *Dharma-śāstras* current in his time and numerous references to the Smṛti texts indicate that he made a careful study of *Dharma-sūtras*, such as those of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Gotama. He sometimes quotes verbatim passengers from the texts, and sometimes gives the substance." On the other hand, A. Ghosh has pointed out[16] that there is hardly any passage in the *Mahābhāṣya* from which we can definitely say that Patañjali borrowed from any of our present taxes. His reference to the *Viṣṇu-smṛti* is very meagre and casual, and we can be certain that he shows no acquaintance with that text. Of the rest, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vaśiṣṭha and Manu, nothing can be said except with the greatest diffidence. We may, however, consider the subject afresh taking into consideration the probable parallel references. It is just possible that there might have been a common source. The passages supposed to have been taken from these texts relate to the definitions of Āryāvarta,[17] Śiṣṭas[18] whose custom and behaviour is to be followed as a model, certain rules of etiquette and social conduct, like voiding at a distance from one's house,[19] abstinence from drink for a Brāhmaṇī,[20] greeting a lady,[21] and a youth taking airs before an old man,[22] which are noticed in the Smṛti texts, though with slight variations.

Regarding the definition of Āryāvarta, with particular reference to its boundaries, there seems unanimity of expression between Baudhāyana and Patañjali, except that Baudhāyana substitutes the word Vinaśana for Ādarśa. According to Vaśiṣṭha, Āryāvarta was the region between Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, where the black antelope roamed about in 'spiritual pre-eminence'. Patañjali has not mentioned this fact, which according to the commentary of Viśvarūpa on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (1-2) was sacrifice assuming that form while wandering over the earth, followed by Dharma in its wandering. The absence of this tradition in the *Mahābhāṣya*, in connection with the limits of Āryāvarta, is an important fact which cannot be overlooked, as it is noted by the other two—Baudhāyana

and Vaśiṣṭha.

A Śiṣṭa, according to Baudhāyana, was expected to be free from envy and pride, keeping only as much as was measured by a *kumbhī*, immune from greed and hypocrisy, annoyance, covetousness, delusion and anger. He studied the Vedas according to the prescribed method together with the appendages, that is, Itihāsa and Purāṇa, and knew how to draw inferences. The definition of the Śiṣṭas in the *Mahābhāṣya* corresponds exactly to that of *Baudhāyana*, while that of Vaśiṣṭha is general, since it defines the Śiṣṭas as those whose mind was free from desires. There appears to be close affinity in the conception, despite slight variations in words.

A third parallelism refers to voiding at a distance from one's house, washing one's feet at a distance, and *nîti*, as for example, the advice to remain at a distance from robbers, as well as from an angry teacher. In this connection it may be interesting to quote another passage tabooing voiding while standing, and taking food while walking (*abrāhmaṇo'yam vas ţiṣţhan mūtrayati, abrāhmaṇo'yam yo gacchan bhakṣayati*.[23] As regards the first point, Manu,[24] Āpastamba,[25] Gautama,[26] and Yājñavalkya[27] have all condemned voiding near one's house, but urinating, while standing, is disapproved in the *Atharvaveda*[28] as well. On the second point, no Smṛti parallelism can be traced.

The next one relates to the drinking of wine by a Brāhmaṇī who, for her act, is not entitled to the company of her lord in the next world. Vaśiṣṭha[29] has also mentioned it, but he is more strict and deprives her of her accumulated *puṇyas* or spiritual gains. According to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra*,[30] *surā*, and the scum of boiled rice in addition (to the *piṇḍas)* are offered to the wives (of the ancestors). P.V. Kane suggests[31] that women drank, perhaps secretly, liquor even when their husbands, owing to the force of public opinion, had given up the practice. All the authorities have denied all kinds of intoxicants to Brāhmaṇas in all stages of life.[32]

One passage has an exact corresponding reference in the *Manusmṛti*.[33] 'For the vital airs of a young man mount upwards to leave his body when an elder approaches; but by rising to meet him and saluting he recovers them'. Manu has stressed on constantly paying reverence to the aged.

caste rules long in practice by 150 BC

These are the parallel passages, noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*, as well as in the Smṛtis. There are certain other matters mentioned by Bhāṣyakāra, and the opinion expressed on them is identical with the injunctions or sanctions of the Smṛtis on those items; as for instance, the reference to the killing of a Brāhmaṇa, even though not knowing it and drinking wine with the consequent fall from one's caste (*yo hy ajañān vai brāhmaṇam hanvāt surām vā pibet so'pi manye patitaḥ syāt*).[34] The murder of a Brāhmaṇa is mentioned as a *mahāpātaka*—a great sin by Vaśiṣṭha[35] and Viṣṇu.[36] These minor items include injunction against eating forbidden food, or the sale of beef, and customary regulations, salutation and other matters of every day life which, in substance, though not in the same words, can be traced in the Smṛtis.

The views expressed by the two scholars are of a divergent nature, and it may be going too far to enter into minute details. One can hardly deny that Patañjali knew at least some of the older *Dharma-sūtras*, otherwise he could not have quoted certain matters of customary or day to day interest which have nothing to do with grammar. On some points, there may have been a common source for both the Bhāṣyakāra and the Smṛtikāras. While the influence of the *Dharma-śāstras* on the *Mahābhāṣya*—amounting to the borrowing of material in substance and language, might be practically negligible, one can hardly deny that Patañjali was in the know of then literature dealing with the laws of Dharma. As regards the period of the *Dharma-śāstras*, according to P.V. Kane[37], those of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba certainly belong to the period between 600 to 300 BC; and in the second century BC, they had attained a position of supreme authority regulating the conduct of men.

The Mahābhāṣya and the Epics, and the Purāṇas

Patañjali distinguishes the legends (Itihāsa) and Purāṇas clearly. (*vakovākyam itihāsaḥ purānām*).[38] Itihāsa included the epics, and Patañjali was familiar with the oldest specimens. Pāṇini seems to have known the story of the *Mahābhārata* in its earlier recension, as he has mentioned certain important characters of the story of Vāsudeva and Arjuna.[39] Patañjali also refers to the Pāṇḍavas[40] and the Kauravas,[41] including Gāndhārī and Kuntī[42] and Vṛṣṇī[43], the Brāhmaṇa senāpati

Droṇa and his son Aśvatthāman.[44] He mentions the stories of Yāvakṛtīka[45] and Yāyātika[46] which are fully narrated in the *Mahābhārata.*[47] The reference to Viśvāmitra and his attainment of Rishihood (*Viśvāmitras tapas tāpe nānṛṣiḥ syām iti*)[48], is also taken from the *Mahābhārata.* The popular lenged of Kāśyapa Prajāpati with his two wives—Dītī and Aditī, who gave birth to demons and gods respectively, noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*,[49] can be traced in the *Mahābhārata.*[50] The story of Śuka, son of Vyāsa who had imbibed all knowledge, while still in the womb of his mother, is also mentioned by Patañjali (*vaiyāsaki śukaḥ*).[51] There are also allusion; to Nārada and Parvata[52] the two celestial sages, and the anecdote of King Ambarīṣa (*Ambarīṣaputraka*).[53] Other illustrations, noticed by the Bhāṣyakāra and probably taken from the *Mahābhārata*, are those of Ahalyā[54] and Indra, Divodāsa[55], and Satyabhāmā[56], the consort of Kṛṣṇa. Patañjali also mentions Kurus fighting righteously (*dharmena'sma kuravo yudhvante*).[57] The incidents and characters from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya* are few. Special reference may be made of Rāvaṇi (son of Ravaṇa)[58], Indrajīt, the army of the monkeys (*vānara sainya*)[59] the liberation of Ahalyā, referred to earlier, and the cave Kiṣkindhyā[60] (mentioned in the definition of Āryāvarta), and names of certain *ṛṣis* like Vaśiṣṭha, Jābāli,[61] Viśvāmitra and Auddalaki.[62]

The relation of the *Mahābhāṣya* to the Purāṇas may be traced in parallel references, both in expression and in substance, since the Purāṇas are characterized by such accounts as relate to cosmogony, different *yugas*, dynasties of Kings, and other extraneous matters like fables and superstitions, it may be interesting to find out data relating to such topics in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The Bhāṣyakāra does cite certain information of a metrological and astromonical nature, as for example, his reference to the colours in the sky denoting atmospheric results—brownish for wind, red for lightening, yellow prognosticating a good harvest, and white an indication for famine[63], and an allusion to a mirage (*mṛgatṛṣṇāvat*) or the cities of the gandharvas (*gandharvanagarāṇi*).[64] It is difficult to see in these references any parallelism. The earliest of the Purāṇas is supposed to be the *Vāyu* which is expressly named in *Mahābhārata* and its supplement the *Harivaṃśa*. A study of

the cultural data from the *Vāyupurāṇa* has recently been made,[65] and the material is classified under archaic survivals, ancient materials, and accretions. In the second class the writer has placed the material aligning with the early *Dharmaśāstras*, the early Buddhist and Jain canonical literature, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, *Manusmṛti* and the earlier portion of the *Mahābhārata*. Comparing the information of a social nature, in the *Vāyupuraṇa* meat eating is regarded as a characteristic of the Piśācas,[66] but in the *Mahābhāṣya*, only the flesh of five-five nailed animals is to be taken; other meat could not be taken. Drinking is also condemned as a sin, as a *surāpā* is looked down upon as a great sinner.[67] It is stated that in the Kāli age (even) women will be fond of wine and similar vices.[68] Traces of such common links can be noticed because Hindu life has not changed so much from its original phase; but exact parallel wordings are not to be found. It is not improbable that Patañjali, while referring to compound, Itihāsa-Purāṇa, had some such work in mind, which might probably have been the *Vāyu-purāṇa*; but one is not certain on this point. Winternitz has pointed out[69] that there certainly existed an ancient Purāṇa under this name (*Vāyu*). We may be right in inferring its existence and Patañjali's knowledge of this Purāṇa, but such parallel references, as we find in the case of Vedic and Smṛti passages, are wanting here.

Patañjali and the Kāvya Literature

Patañjali quotes a number of passages written in the *Kāvya*-style and actually refers to a *Kāvya* by Vararuci (*Vararucam kāvyam*) who is identified by some with the Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana.[71] Fragments of verses of ornate form, which may have been either his own composition, or taken from some earlier source are also noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The Bhāṣyakāra alludes to the poetic license in the expression—*chandovat kāvayaḥ kurvanti*[72], and actually mentions a *chandaḥśāstra*.[73] In the light of these references we may consider the extent to which Patañjali utilized *Kāvya* poetry in his comments. This study might reveal the poetic talents of the Bhāṣyakāra who, possibly, composed some verses himself, and secondly, it would suggest the existence of *Kāvya* poetry and literature in his time. Patañjali could not possibly have set his hand to the poetic verses in his commentary without an adequate knowledge of

the rules of metrical composition. If he probably borrowed from some other source, then the existence of the *Kāvya* literature earlier than Patañjali cannot be questioned. We may suggest that the Bhāṣyakāra was conscious of the canons and characteristics of the *Kāvya* poetry in both its themes and its ornamentation. Despite the fact that there is no room for such poetry in a work on grammar, one notices flashes in the form of fragmentary verses in the *Mahābhāṣya*, likely to stimulate the reader in the difficult task of following the commentary.

From Patañjali's reference it is clear that from its very dawn, love is established as one of the dominant themes of *Kāvya* poetry. The widely diffused *Kāvya* manner and its prevailing love interest permeates even the domain of grammar; and we notice references like, *varatuna sampravadanti kukkuṭaḥ*[74]—"o fair-limbed one, the cooks unite to proclaim." The illustration is given by Patañjali for the inapplicability of the Sūtra *vyaktavācam sāmuccharane*, in the case of birds of lower animals who are incapable of making articulate speech, even though they make a chorus of noise. The other reference of a rather erotic nature is *priyām mayūra pratinarnṛtîti yad yat tvam naravaranar nṛtiṣi hṛṣṭaḥ*[75]--the peacock dances towards his beloved; and another—*ā vanantād odakāntāt priyām pantham anuvrajed iti.*[76] 'Let her follow the wanderer she loveth to the ends of the woods to the ends of water.' There is a parallel reference from the *Ṛgveda*, quoted earlier, which can also be mentioned here. It compares speech to a loving wife, well attired presenting herself to her husband (*jāyeva patya uśati suvāsāḥ*).[77] The introduction of this love element may have been due to Patañjali's desire to interest his reader. Love poetry is very common in Sanskrit literature.

The Bhāṣyakāra uses epic or panegyric poetry, pathos, gnomicism, and *nīti* relating to political wisdom in maxims. The first aspect is seen in addresses like *prathate tvayā patimatī pṛthivî*[78]—'the earth with these as a Lord is celebrated as wide', and in *jaghāna Kaṃsam kila Vāsudevaḥ*[79]--'Vasudeva slew Kaṃsa; and in other reference—*asidvitīyo 'nusāra Paṇḍavam*[80] 'with sword as mate he attacked Paṇḍu's son'. These references are supposed to refer to anecdotes of the past from which Patañjali took only fragmentary verses to illustrate his commentary.

These are important for their epic character, and the reference to works from they are taken.

Pathos or deep sentiment is expressed in verses like,

yasmin dasa sahasrāṇi putre jāte gavām dadau
brahmaṇebhyaḥ priyākhyebhyaḥ so'yam uñchena jīvati[81]

'One on whose birth ten thousand kine were given to the Brāhmaṇas who announced the good tidings, now lives on gleaning.' This verse seems to refer to some anecdote. Gnomic poetry is noticed in verses like,

tapaḥ śrutām ca yoniś cety etad brāhmaṇakārakam[82]
tapaḥ śrutābhyām yo hīno jātibrāhmaṇa eva saḥ

'Asceticism, learning, birth, these make the Brāhmaṇa; he who lacks asceticism and learning is a Brāhmaṇa by birth alone.' The same idea is also expressed in another verse:

trīṇi vasya avādaṭāni vidyā yoniś ca karma ca
etac chivam vijānihi brāhmaṇāgrasya lakṣaṇam iti.[83]

Necessity knows no law—and nothing seems right to a hungry man—(*bubhukṣitam na pratibhāti kiṃcit*).[84] In another passage he condemns an adulterer who commits sin with his teacher's wife (*dhvamsate guru alpagaḥ*).[85] An interesting maxim regarding the education of children relates to the harshness of the teacher which is for the good of the pupil.

sāmritaiḥ pāṇibhiṛ ghnanti guravo na viṣokṣitaiḥ[86]
lāḍanāśrāvino doṣas tāḍanāśrāvino guṇāḥ

'Fraught with life, not with poison, the blows that teachers give; vice grows by indulgence, virtue prospers by reproof'. In one passage, possibly taken from the *Mahābhārata*, emphasis is laid on the factor playing an important part in life—destruction is inevitable for all in course of time (*kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni kālaḥ samharāt prajāḥ*.[87] The character of a drunkard; never wearied of his drink, is compared to the inevitability of death in a verse:

ahar ahar navamāno gām aśvam puruṣam paśūn[88]
vaivasvato na tripyati suravā iva durmadī.

'Though day by day he takes his toll in cattle, horses, men, and beasts, Vivasvant's son is never tired of, as a drunkard is never wearied of his wine'. There is another maxim which suggest political wisdom—*kṣeme subhikṣe kṛtasaṃcayāni purāṇi rājñam vinayanti kopam*[89]—'citadels well stored in peace and abundance calm the wrath of kings'.

Kielhorn has mentioned[90] in all 260 verses, including those, written in different metres—the ordinary Ārya about 40 verses; portions of an Ārya two; Gīti—one verse and a half; the ordinary Śloka—about 165 verses, three quarters of a verse, half-verses; and quarter verses Vaktra with half a verse; Vidyunmātā with a quarter verse; Samāni, Indravajra, Upajāti, Dodhaka, Śālinī, Vanśasthā, Toṭaka, Jagatī and irregular Tṛṣṭubh or Jagāti verses. Keith also referred[91] to specimens of such ornate metres as the Mālatī, the Praharṣiṇī, the Pramitākṣara, and the Vasantatilaka, besides the normal Śloka and Tṛṣṭubh. He suggested that the new metres lead us into a different sphere from the Vedic metres, and striking light on this development is afforded by the metre of the Kārikas, mostly, if not all, witten probably by the predecessors of Patañjali, which deal with disputed points of grammar. 'The richness and elaboration of metre, in striking contrast to the comparative freedom of Vedic and Epic literature, must certainly have arisen from poetical use; it can not have been invented for grammatical memorial verses, for which a simple metre might better suffice.' In the light of the commentator's views, Kielhorn has suggested that some of the verses in the *Mahābhāṣya* are by Kātyāyana, and others by another author of Vārttikas; but these commentators also assign some verses to the Bhāṣyakāra.[92]

It appears from Kielhorn's remarks, that a good many of the verses in question, either in fragments or in full, have been taken by Patañjali from some earlier works between the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, so that the Bhāṣyakāra quietly borrowed them without acknowledging the source. He borrowed from older works which were in verse, and we should regard these books as the source of those verses to which he

appended an occasional remark only[93], or the meaning of which he merely indicated in general way.[94] We should, however, like to take a broad view proposing that the *Kāvya* literature was known in the time of Patañjali, which should not be disputed in view of the reference to the Vararuci *Kāvya* in the *Mahābhāṣya*. As regards, Kielhorn's contention, it would be idle to deny the authorship of the Śloka Vārttikas to Patañjali, and to condemn him as a plagiarist would exhibit a narrow view. His wide reading and balanced outlook, anxious to make his commentary understandable to the *Śiṣṭas*, not only with illustrations, but even with a change from prose to poetic verses, was a good method adopted by the Bhāṣyakāra. Some half or quarter verses and maxims may have been taken from earlier works, as he borrowed from the Vedic literature, but the Śloka Vārttikas appear to be his own composition, for which he was well unequipped by reason of his literary talents.[95] Kielhorn has mentioned 165 ordinary Ślokas, which were very probably written by the Bhāṣyakāra. As regards the use of new metres, distinct from the Vedic ones, they may have been in use earlier than the time of Patañjali in the *Kāvyas*, unknown to us, or some may have been his own creations.

Patañjali and Popular Literature

The Bhāṣyakāra was aware of the popular literature dealing with tales taken from the Epics, or of an independent nature, which were current in that period. He refers to tales about Yavakṛta, Priyaṅgu and Yayāti[96], and has furnished names of three *Ākhyāyikās*, namely *Vāsavadattā*, *Sumanottarā* and *Bhīmarathi*.[97] The two general terms used are—*Ākhyāna* and *Ākhyāyikā*—the former is traced in the Vedic literature[98] as well, and, though the latter occurs only once in the late *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, its significance is doubtful. According to Keith, the story is naturally related in prose, the moral is fixed in the memory by being put in verse form. Later on stanzas were inserted in the narrative itself which are not maxims, but, like the label, refer definitely to the tale itself, and, thus, we achieve the use of *Ākhyāna* or narrative verses. The *Ākhyāyikā*, apart from merely formal requirements, was a serious composition generally dealing with facts of experience and having an autobiographical, traditional or semi-historical interest; and

it was distinct from a *kathā* which was essentially a fictitious narrative.[99] The stories of *Vāsavadattā* and *Sumanottarā* seem to be very popular in that period. The heroine of the first story was the wife of King Udayana of Vatsa to whom she offered herself against the wishes of her father Pradyota. The name is also given to the heroine of Subandhu's novel who is represented to have been betrothed by her father to Puṣpaketu, but was carried away by Kandarpaketu. The second one is a very late story. The *Ākhyānas* of Yavakṛta and Yayāti are related in the *Mahābhārata*.[100]

There are a few interesting stories and anecdotes which are also noticed in the *Māhabhāṣya*. The one under the title Vṛddakumārī[101] is narrated by Patañjali. A virgin in her advanced age was told by Indra to ask for a boon. She entreated him to grant her such a boon so that her sons might eat rice with milk and butter in a brass-made utensil. By a single boon she managed to secure all she desired a husband, sons, cows and rice. This applied to a sentence having a variety of meaning.

The bird fables are also quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra—as for example, *Kākataliyam*[102]—which expression stands for the manner of the crow and the palm fruit—meaning sudden death as in the fable of the fruit of the palm falling unexpectedly at the moment of the alighting of a crow and killing it (*kāka gamanam iva tālapatanam iva*) and *ajakṛpāṇiyam*[103]—the maxim of the she-goat and the sword. It is founded on the story of a goat being suddenly killed by accidental contact with a sword. Both these stories are used to illustrate a surprising event happening altogether by chance. Another story, quoted by Patañjali, corresponds to a Buddhist Jātaka tale. Under 1.3.25 (*upān mantrakaraṇe*)—Patañjali gives as an instance of the first Vārttika *āditvam upatiṣṭhate*—'he adores the sun'; and he quotes the instance of a monkey who apes the adoration of the sun in a crowd (or army) of monkeys (*paśya vānarasainye'smin yad arkam upatiṣṭhate*[104]) This illustration may be compared to the *Ādiccupaṭṭhānajātaka*).[105] In this connection it is equally interesting to notice certain maxims of a popular nature, and it is probable that they were taken from the literature dealing with the subject, though some may have been used in conversation. Some of them are traced in later Sanskrit works. The

maxims of the well-digger—*kūpakhāna kanyāyaḥ*[106]; something on which a cow is perched—*kākādhikaraṇanyavaḥ*[107]; the rice in the cooking pot—*sthālipulākānyayaḥ,*[108] meaning that the condition of the whole class is inferred from that of a pot; a mongoose standing on hot ground—*avataptenakulasthitam,*[109] used in the sense of a fickle person, also known as *tīrthakāka,*[110] or the crow at a centre of pilgrimage, are notable. Some of these may have originated from the *Mahābhāṣya* itself[111], as for example, men do not refrain from setting the cooking pots on fire because there are beggars (who may ask for the contents) nor do they abstain from sowing barley because there are wild animals (*na hi bhikṣukāḥ santi iti sthālyo nādhiśrivante na ca mṛgāḥ santi iti yavā nopyanti*).[112]

A few more may be quoted here, as for instance—an iguana creeping along does not on that account become a snake. (*nahi godhā sarpanti sarpanād ahir bhavati*),[113] or curd and cucumber are fever personified (*dadhitrapusam pratyakṣo jvaraḥ*)[114] and water in a bed of reeds is a disease of the feet (*naḍvalodakam pāda rogaḥ*).[115]

Patañjali and Drama

The existence of drama in its true form in the time of Patañjali has engaged the attention of many scholars.[116] Patañjali, commenting on the Vārttika of Kātyāyana, explaining the use of the present in the phrases cited, when the events described lie in the distant past, has mentioned two examples, that of the staying of Kaṃsa and the binding of Bali. Since the passage has been a subject of great discussion, it may be quoted here in full: *ye tāvad ete śobhanikā nāmaite pratyakṣaṃ Kaṃsaṃ ghātyanti pratyakṣam ca Balim bandhayantīti Citreṣu katham? citreṣu apy udgūrṇā nipatitāś ca prahārā dṛśyante Kaṃsakarṣaṇyaś ca granthikeṣu katham yatra śabdagaḍumātram lakṣyate? te'pi hi teṣām utpattiprabhṛty ā vināśād riddhīr vyācakṣāṇāḥ sato buddhiviṣayān prakāśayanti. ātaś ca sato vyāmiśrā hi dṛśyante. kecit Kaṃsabhakta bhavanti kecid Vāsudevabhaktaḥ varṇānyatvam khalv api paśyanti: kecid raktamuktā bhavanti kecid kalamukhāḥ*).[117] Vārttika 6 makes it certain that the sense of the verb must involve the idea of description (*tad ācaṣṭa iti*), and so it justifies the use of the causative. Now, there could be three possible ways, as suggested by scholars, of describing the

scenes of the past by showing them actually on the stage, or by painting scenes on canvas and the audience could observe the depicting of the blows rained on Kaṃsa, or the binding of Bali; or by the Śaubhikas explaining to the audience shadow figures. The second and the third explanations seem to be inconsistent with the meaning which Patañjali intended to convey. The word *pratyakṣam* is important in this respect. Hillebrandt's presumption[118] that the Śaubhikas carried round pictures which they explained, or Lüders' assumption[119] that a painter explained to an audience the picture he had painted, are contrary to the sense we get from this passage. There can be no doubt that the Śaubhikas related the two stories by action and not by presentation in pictures or in words.

The other expression *śabdagaḍumātram lakṣyate*, is considered by Keith to be painfully obscure, since *gaḍu* bears no recognized meaning which fits the passage. It cannot be equated with *grantha* as presumed by Lüders, nor can it inflict on "Patañjali the sin of verbiage, since *Śabdamātram* would yield the requisite sense, as observed by Hillebrandt." The use of colouring, red and black is equally important and it is presumed that the Granthikas formed two parties whose diverse colour marked their nature as supporters of Kaṃsa or Vāsudeva. Keith suggested[120] that the development of the epic recitation depicted by Patañjali is in itself, as Professor Levi has shown,[121] the most obvious preclude to the growth of the true drama, and the parallel of the dithyramb is too clear to admit of denial." He explained the passage of Patañjali, interpreted in the light of the Vārttika in a simple and plain sense—the slaying of Kaṃsa and the binding of Bali lie in the distinct past, but one may say *Kaṃsam ghātayanti* or *Balim bandhayati*, "he describes the slaying of Kaṃsa, the binding of Bali of the painter whose vivid art brings the scene before our eyes, and the same expressions, in the plural are applicable to the Śaubhikas, who present in dumb show the scenes, and the Granthikas, who recite, dividing themselves into two parties distinguished by their colour." It is therefore clear that there was union of action of the Śaubhikas to the recitation of the Granthikas which gives the full dramatic form, but Keith doubted whether by Patañjali's time drama had been actually evolved, and the Śaubhikas and Granthikas represent older stages in the development still existing

independently, or the process of evolution was incomplete.[122]

Now, it appears that scholars have not taken into consideration the other evidence provided by the Bhāṣyakāra, nor have they viewed it from indigenous dramatic perspective. Patañjali quotes references to the *naṭas* or actors—*naṭasya śṛṇoti*,[123] *agāsīn naṭaḥ*[124] *naṭasyabhuktam*[125] and *sarvakeśi naṭah*.[126] One important passage—*āṭas ca upayogo yadā ārambhakā raṅgam gacchanti naṭasya śroṣyāmo granthikasya śroṣyāma iti*,[127] clearly suggests that recitations were made both by the *naṭas* and the Granthikas, and the expression *ārambhaka* points to the commencement of an action which awakens an interest in the progress of the principal plot. It is clear that this refers to the Sūtradhāra who first enters the stage and suggests to the audience the name of the drama which is to be staged. In another reference, Patañjali mentions *naṭabhāryā* who had to please many people on the stage (*naṭānām stṛyo raṅgam gatā yo yaḥ pṛcchati kasya yūyam kasya yūyam iti tam tava tava ity āhuḥ*).[128] A male also played female's part and was known as *bhrūkumsa*.[129] In the light of these references, is it at all doubtful that drama in its true form, and dramatic literature were unknown in the time of Patañjali? Even Pāṇini refers to *naṭasūtras*,[130] the texts for the *naṭas*. Keith was not in a position to establish the meaning of *naṭa* which, according to him, might mean no more than a pantomine.[131]

Paṭañjali and Philosophical Data

Patañjali tried to raise grammar to the standard of philosophy by introducing logical principles, such as the reference to the eternality of *Śabda*, the exposition of the doctrine of *Sphoṭa*, and the application of the principle of agreement and difference or positive and negative propositions (*anvaya vyatireka*).[132] As regards the first aspect, the Bhāṣyakāra mentions the names of two eminent grammarians, namely Vyāḍi[133] and Vājapyāyana,[134] the former being the author of a big treatise called *Saṃgraha*, and spoken of by the Bhāṣyakāra as authoritative (*Saṃgraha etatprādhānyena*).[135] He also develops the theme of the externality of *Śabda* by which he meant *Sphoṭa*—the eternal and imperceptible element of sounds and words and the real vehicle of the idea which bursts or flashes on the mind when the sound is uttered (*dhvaniḥ sphoṭaś ca śabdānām*

dhvanis tu khalu lakṣyate alpo mahāmś ca keṣāmcid ubhayam tat svabhāvataḥ).[136] Explaining the relation of a word to sense as eternal (*nityo hy arthavatām arthair abhisambandhaḥ*),[137] he seems to have come into close touch with the Mīmāṃs akas; who are noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya* though he does not mention the name of Jaimini. He is also supposed to have reproduced the Sāṃkhya doctrine, while enumerating the six causes that often prevent us from comprehending things that really exist (*saḍbhiḥ prākāraiḥ śatām bhāvānām anupalabdhir bhavati*).[138] These are: extreme, distance, extreme proximity, intervention of other things, obscurity due to darkness, weakness of visual organs, and extreme carelessness.

The Vedāntic philosophy is not noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya* but one finds words like *Brahman, Akṣara* and *Brāhmavādin*.[139] An important matter from the philosophical standpoint is the conception of the non-duality of soul, and he mentions the individual soul (*ātman*) and the supreme soul (*paramātman*),[140] as well as the physical and internal soul (*śarīrātman* and *antarātman*). The internal soul performs those actions whereby the physical soul feels pain or pleasure (*śarīrātmā tat karma karoti yena antarātmā sukhduḥkhe'nubhavati*).[141] It appears that the two souls not only exist but are active in actions, which is against the Vedāntic system of philosophy. In his commentary, Kaiyaṭa thoroughly explains the difference of souls and not the agency and objectivity of one and the same soul.[142] Another point worth nothing is Patañjali's reference to the *Pramāṇas* (instruments of correct knowledge), which, according to the *Nyāyasūtra*[143] are Perception, Inference, Analogy and *Śabda*. Patañjali refers to them with the single exception of Analogy (*upamiti*) in different passages. It is difficult to say if he was aware of Gautama. As pointed out in the comment on this, the Cārvākas admit only one means viz. Perception (*pratyakṣa*), the Vaiśeṣikas and Bauddhas admit two: that is Perception, and Inference (*anumāna*); the Sāṃkhya admit three—Perception, Inference and Verbal testimony (*āgama* and *śabda*) while the Naiyāyikas admit four. The Bhāṣyakāra does not mention the name of Gautama, the Naiyāyika, but the words *Gautamīya*[144] and *Vākovākya*[145] in the *Mahābhāṣya*, suggest his knowledge of this system of philosophy. In this connection certain other

facts may also be taken into consideration, such as, the illustration (*pratyakṣas tena agnidhūmayor abhisambandhaḥ*)[146]—the clear relation of smoke with the fire. The inference is impossible without previous perception, as mentioned in the *Nyāyasūtra* (*atha tatpūrvakam trividham anumānam*),[147] but in some cases inference is more reliable than perception (*pratyakṣād apy anumānabalīyastvam tu evam*).[148] One also finds a reference to *kriyā* or action which is not visible but comprehended only by inference (*kriyā nāmeyam atyantāparidṛṣṭā*).[149] The semi-organs are capable of providing cognition only when they have direct association with the mind (*manasā samyuktāni indriyāṇi upalabdhau kāraṇāni bhavanti*).[150] The sense-organs, incapable of giving cognition (perception) by themselves, could only do so through the connection with the mind, to which the Naiyāyikas added another factor—the soul with which the mind gets invariably connected. Thus, according to them, a sense coming in contact with its object produces knowledge in soul only if the sense is conjoined with the mind. This conjunction is a necessary element in the definition of perception.

Another point, worth mentioning, is the conception of the syllogism (*avayavin*). According to the *Nyāyasūtra*, (*sādhyatvād avayavisamdehāḥ*)[151] there is, some say, doubt about the whole, which is yet to be established, and parts alone are realities. A tree, for instance, is yellow in some parts and green in others. If it were one whole the contradictory qualities or yellowness and greenness could not have belonged to it simultaneously Patañjali shares this view (*avayavātmakatvāt samudāyaṣya avayavātmakaḥ samudāyaḥ abhyantaro hi samudāye 'vayavaḥ tad yathā vṛkṣaḥ pracalan saha avayavaiḥ pracalati*).[152]

The question of desire, directly known by action, is also referred to by the Bhāṣyakāra (*icchāyā hi pravṛttita upalabdhih icchavā hi pravṛttita upalabdhir bhavati*).[153] What one desires to do is clearly understood by his action. According to the *Nyāyasūtra*, 'desire, aversion, volition, pleasure, pain, and intelligence are the marks of the soul' (*icchā dveṣa-prayatina sukha-duhkha-jñānāni ātmanoliṅgam iti*).[154] Desire is one of the signs by which soul is usually inferred to exist. It is not directly comprehended by perception but only by inference. One also notices references to malobservation—things that actually do

not exist, but appear to be so, as for instance, *mṛgatṛṣṇā*[155]—mirage, or the beautiful city of the Gandharvas (*gandharvanagaraṃ yathā*).[156] The reverse case of non-perception of realities is also referred to by the Bhāṣyakāra as for instance, the movement of the sun *ādityagativat*[157] is imperceptible, though real.

Many more passages and references could be traced to show that Patañjali was familiar with philosophical conceptions. It may be going too far to consider these in detail, but there are certain technical terms which may be mentioned, as for example, *anugāma*,[158] *samānādhikaraṇa*[159] (having a common substratum), *anantvatya*[160]—the state of infinity or eternity, *anaikāntika*[161]—the fallacy of undistributed middle, and a good many interesting philosophical maxims which are included in the comprehensive work *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. The maxim of the rope which binds at both ends *ubhayataḥ pāśa rajjuḥ*[162] is most interesting. It leads on to an embarrassing position—a dilemma. As illustrated in the Jaimini section of *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*[163]—"If you object that non-existence (or absence cannot be a cause, we reply by asking you whether non-existence can be an affect or not? If it cannot, then we should have to allow that cloth is eternal, as its 'emergent non-existence' or destruction would be impossible. If it can be effect, then why should it not be a cause also?" So this rope binds you at boths ends. Another interesting maxim is *ekadeśavikṛtasyānanyatvāt siddham*[164]—a thing that is changed in one part does not thereby become something else. Here Patañjali illustrates the cutting of a dog's ear or tail which does not turn it into a horse or donkey but still a dog.

We have not taken into consideration the reference to substance (*dravya*)—different from qualities such as form, smell odour, sound and touch *kipunar dravyam ke punar guṇaḥśabda sparśarūpa rasa gandhā guṇas tato'nead dravyam*[165]); and the enternal entities, including sky, heaven, space and time (*nityā dyauḥ nityā pṛthivī nityam·ākāśam iti.*[166] The consideration of the philosophical data makes it clear that the Bhāṣyakāra was familiar with the Naiyāyika philosophy. The philosophical literature in that period probably influenced him in his exposition of the grammatical Sūtras, and he sought elucidation of the philosophy of grammar.

Medicinal and Surgical data in the Mahābhāṣya

Patañjali refers to the three humours of the body—*vāta* (wind or air), *pitta*—the bilious humour secreted between the stomach and the bowels, and *śleṣmā*, caused by phlegm or mucus.[167] He also mentions certain diseases like itch (*pāman*)[168] scrofula (*gaḍu*)[169] an excrescence on the head (*gaḍuśiras*)[170], and a kind of leprosy (*dadru*).[171] He notices ladies' disease assosiated with childbirth, sometimes causing the death of the lady during the birth of the first child (*tathā sutāyaṃ aśoṣyamānāyām ca bhavati prathamagarbheṇa hateti*).[172] The child was also sometimes prolapsed (from the womb)—(*garbho nirluṭhitaḥ*).[173] A few specific remedies are also mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, as for instance, rice-gruel for curing kidney trouble (*mūtrāya katpate yavāguṇ*), and barley water for excretion (*uccāraya yavanam iti*)[174] Ghee (*ghṛta*) destroyed bilious substance (*pittaghnam ghṛtam*) and honey removed phlegm (*śleṣmaghnam madhu*).[175] Reference is also made to a medicinal oil (*inguḍatailam*).[176]

Administrative Information

The information provided by the Bhāṣyakāra on the political events, especially the invasion of the Yavanas, has been considered earlier. In our consideration of the administrative data, we notice village as the local unit and its headman was known as *grāmaṇi*.[177] A collection of five villages was called *pañcagrāma*.[178] A few officers mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, are commander-in-chief (*senānî*)[179] and King's physician (*rājavaidya*)[180]; and minor attendants, such as, the canoy holders (*chatradhāra*)[181], the gate-keeper (*dvārapāla*) and the executioner (*śîrṣaghātin*).[182] Tolls or taxes (*śulka*)[183] and collective fines are also referred to.[184] This administrative information supplied by the *Mahābhāṣya*, is too meagre to suggest if it is derived from the Smṛti literature, or Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Patañjali also refers to the three objects of life—*Dharma*, *Artha* (Politics and practical life in general), and *Kāma*, viz. love or affection (*dharmarthau arthadharmau, kāmarthau arthakāmau*).[185]

Miscellaneous Data

This includes information on topics like arms and arma-

ments, trees, birds and animals. The different kinds of arms-spear (*śakti*), plough (*laṅgala*), goad (*aṅkuśa*), staff (*yaṣṭi*), club (*tomara*), bow (*dhanuṣa*) and another type of club (*mūśala*)[186] were used; and a systematic planning of defence was made with a moat dug round the city (*utkhaparikhā*).[187] The main strength of the army was called *akṣauhiṇī*—a very popular term.[188] Amongst the fruits, plants and trees, mentioned are: berry (*badara*),[189] pomegranate (*dāḍima*),[190] jasmine (*mallika*),[191] khadira (*palāśa, pīlu*)[192]—a kind of palm, the jujube tree (*kuvali*),[193] *aradu*,[194] and the cotton plant (*picavya*),[195] bottle-gourd (*alābu*) and flax (*ūṇa*).[196] The animals, reptiles and birds, which are noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*, include, *goḍya*[197] —an iguana, *sarpa*[198]—ordinary snake, and *mahā-sarpa*,[199] beautiful cow (*govṛndāraka*) and horse (*aśva-vṛndāraka*),[200] donkey (*khara*)[201] camel (*ūṣṭra*),[202] sheep (*eḍaka*),[203] deer (*mṛga*),[204] peacock (*mayūra*),[205] pigeon (*kapota*),[206] a young sparrow (*cātaka*),[207] large fish (*timiṅgila*),[208] goose (*haṃsa*)[209] and a kind of eagle (*kurara*). The data provided by the *Mahābhāṣya*, on these topics are also meagre. The information is too general for any presumption regarding treatises on Botanical and Zoological subjects known to the Bhāṣyakāra.

Patañjali's Style

In order to estimate the worth of a literary work, it is necessary to consider the material furnished by it, and the way in which it is presented. In short, it is not only what is said, but how it is said which is equally important. On this point, Patañjali seems to have placed himself in the position of a young keen student anxious to master the riddles of grammar through a scientific and logical technique. A question is put and the student raises the issue in an intelligent manner with the teacher—who finally solves the problem. The pros and cons are equally weighed. It no doubt imposes a heavy strain on the readers, especially those who are unfamiliar with the method followed, but certainly it represents a style of its own. Expressions and referenses relating to matters of every day life enhance the value of the work which also depicts the cultural condition in that period. With a view to giving a concrete idea of Patañjali's style, one or two passages may be quoted here. The first is the famous Mauryan passage—being a comment on

the Sūtra *jīvikārthe cāpaṇye*. Pāṇini mentions that the suffix *ka* is added to a name denoting an image of a deity, but that suffix is dropped, if the image secures for the person a livelihood (*jīvikā*), provided it is not vendible (*apaṇya*). Now the difficulty is raised with regard to the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha. Here the suffix *ka* is dropped despite the fact that the Mauryas in their greed for money had disposed of such images. So the form should be *Śivaka*, *Skandaka* and *Viśākhaka*. Finally, he says that taking it for granted that the rule of dropping *ka* does not apply to those images of the Mauryas, still as regards images used for purpose of worship it does apply (*bhavet tāsu na syāt yās tu etāḥ sampratipūjārthas tāsu bhaviṣyati*).[210] In the second passage, from the rule laying down the eatable things, one can understand those things which are not to be eaten. When it is said that (only) five toed animals may be eaten, it is to be understood that all the rest are not to be eaten or by forbidding the eating of something, those that may be eaten can be known. Thus, when it is said that the village cock or pig should not be eaten, it is to be understood that the wild cock or pig may be eaten. (*abhakṣyo-grāmyakukkuṭo 'bhakṣyo grāmyaśūkara ity ukte gamyata etad āranyobhakṣya iti.*[211]

Patañjali seems to be conscious of his reader's difficulty and limitations; and, therefore, he tries to interest him with similes and metaphorical expressions and maxims which have been considered earlier. Such a device is expected to lighten the strain on the reader. The difficulty to follow Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* was, however, experienced even by the commentators—Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa, but one can hardly deny that the Bhāṣyakāra tried to hit two birds with a stone. He succeeded in presenting grammar on a scientific basis for the Śiṣṭas, and, for the succeeding generations, he was equally successful in presenting a picture of India of his time which was not free from political upheavals.

We have tried to assess in this chapter the literary talents of the Bhāṣyakāra and the probable literature on different subjects with which he was familiar. The reference to the *Kāvya* of Vararuci Jābāli, and his own experiments in poetic metres testify to the development of *Kāvya* literature in that period, Parallelism between passages from the *Mahābhāṣya*, and those

taken from the Vedic literature illustrate the vast bibliography with which Patañjali was conversant. As regards the Smṛti passages, probably there was a common source for the Smṛtikāras and the Bhāṣyakāra. Drama and dramatic literature were well-known and Patañjali has atcually quoted two such dramas. The popular literature was also utilized by the Bhāṣyakāra and we find a good many maxims, some dealing with bird fables. The data relating to Medicine, administration, Botany and Zoology are also considered in this chapter. There was, very probably, literature on some of these subjects. We have not taken into consideration either Pāli or Prākṛta source for obvious reasons—paucity of any fixed datum of time, and because the present study is confined from the literary standpoint to the *Mahābhāṣya* alone. These were apparent reasons for skipping over those sources.

References

[1]cf. (i) *jarbhari turpharitu*—II.1.1, p. 363.25—*RV*, X.106.6.

(ii) *ojāvamānaṃ yo' him jaghāna*—III.1.11, p. 21.4—*RV*, II.12.11.

(iii) *Maudbhir agna—āgahi*—VI.4.22, p. 189.2—*RV*, I.19.1.

(iv) *nābhā pṛthivyā nihito davidyutat*—V.4.47, p. 437.11—*AV*, VII. 621.

[2]*cātvāri śṛṅga trayo asya pādā dye śīṣer saptahastāso asya tridhā baddho Vṛṣabho roravīti maho devo martyām aviveśeti. Mah.*, I.1.1, p. 3.15-16—*RV*, IV. 58. *Vāj Saṃ.*, 17.91; *Mait. Saṃ.*, I.6.29, 87.17

[3]Ref. Wilson, *Rigveda Saṃhitā*, vol. III, p. 227, n.1; also Griffith's trans., vol. I, p. 462.

[4]I.1.1, p. 6.27; IV.4.1, p. 329.4.

[5]*Sudevo asi Varuṇa yasya te sapta sindhavaḥ*
anukṣaranti kākudam sūrmyam suṣirām iva
—*Mah.*, I. 1.1, p. 4. 27-28; *RV*, VIII. 69.12

[6]Ref. Wilson, op. cit., vol. V, p 126, n. 2.

[7]*Mah.*, p. 5.2.

[8]*catvāri vākprimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmaṇā ye manīṣinaḥ guhā trīṇi nihitā neṅgayanti turīyam vāco manuṣyā vadanti—Mah.*, I.1.1, p. 3.24-25; *RV*, I.164, 45; *AV*, IX.12.27.

[9]Wilson, op. cit., vol. II, p. 142; Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II, p. 155.

[10]*uta tyaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācam uta tuaḥ śṛṇran na śṛṇoty enām uto to asmai tanyam vi-sasre jāyeva patya uśati suvāsaḥ. Mah.*, I. 1.1, p. 4.2-3; *RV*, X. 74-4

[11]*Saktum iva titāunā punanto yatra dhīrā manasā vācam akrata atrā sakhāyaḥ sakhyāni jānate bhadraiṣām lakṣmīr nihitādhi vāci. Mah*, I. 1.1, p. 4.10-11; *RV*, X.71-2.

[12]IV. 2.66, p. 285.22.

[13]IV. 2.60, p. 284.*.

[14]IV. 2.66, p. 286.5-*.

[15]*IHQ*, vol. II. pp. 267ff.

[16]Ibid., vol. XI, pp. 77ff.

[17] (a) *kaḥ punar Āryāvartaḥ—Prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād dakṣinena himavantiam uttareṇa Pāriyātram—Mah.*, VI. 3.109, p. 174 7-8.

(b) *Prāg ādarśanāt pratyak kālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam udāk pārlyātram etad Āryāvartam tasmin ca ācāras sa pramāṇam—Baun.*, I. 2.10.

(c) (i) *Āryavartaḥ prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād udākpariyātrād dakṣiṇena himavataḥ uttareṇa ca vindhyasya.—Vas.* I.8-9.

(ii) *Gaṅgāyamunavor antare 'py eke—yāvad ya kṛṣṇamīgo vicarati tāvad brāhmayarcasam ity anye*—Ibid., 12-13.

[18](a) (i) *ke punaḥ śiṣṭaḥ—vaiyākaraṇoḥ—kutā etat—śāstrapūrivikā hi śistir vaiyākaraśas ca śāstrajñāh yadi tarhi śastraturvika śiṣṭiḥ śiṣṭipūrvakam ca śāstram tad itaretaraśrayam bhavati—itaretaraśrāyani ca na prakalpante evam tarhi nivāsata ācāratas ca su ca ācāra āryāvarta eva—Mah.*, VI. 3.109, p. 174.

(ii) *etasmin āryahivāse ye Brāhmaṇaḥ kumbhīdhānya alolūpa agrihyamanakaraṇaḥ kiṃcid antarena kaśyascid vidyāyaḥ pārāgas tatra bhavantaḥ śiṣṭah*—Ibid., pp. 8-11.

(b) *Śiṣṭa khalu vigatamatsaroḥ nirahaukāraḥ kumbhīdhānya alolūpa dambhadarpalobhamoharoda vivarl itaḥ.—Baudh.*, I 5.

paramparyāgato yeṣām vedaḥ saparibrimhaṇaḥ te śiṣṭa brāhman jñeyaḥ śrutipratyakṣa hetayaḥ.—Vas., VI.43.

[19]*durād avasthān mūtram dūrat pādavasecanam dūrac ca bhavyam dasyubhyo durāc ca kupītād guroh—Mah.*, II. 3.35, p. 457.22-23.

[20]*Ya Brāhmaṇī surāpī bhavati nainām devaḥ patilokam napanti*—Ibid., III. 2.8, p. 99.7.

[21]*kāmam teṣu tu viprosya striṣv iva ayam aham vadet*—Ibid., I.1.1, p. 3.8.

[22]*ūrdhvam prāṇa hy utkaramanti yūnaḥ sthavira ayati pratyutthān-abhivādābhyām punas tān pratipadyata iti*—Ibid., VI.1.84, p. 58.8-9.

[23]II.2.6, p. 411.22.

[24]*durād avasathān mūtram dūrāt pādāvasecanam*—IV.151.

[25]*ārāc ca āvasathān mūtrapurişe kurvād dakṣiṇām diśām dakṣiṇāparam vā—Āp.*, I.11.31.2.

[26]*narāc ca āvasthāt*—I.9.39.

[27]*dūrād ucchiṣṭa vinmūtrapādāmbhamsi samutsṛjet.*—I.154.

[28]VII.107.1.

[29]*Yā brāhmaṇī ca surāpī na tām devaḥ patilokam nayanti ihaiva sā carati kṣinapunyapṣu lug bhavati śuktika va*—XXI.11.

[30]II.5.5.

[31]*Hist. Hindu. Dharm Śāstras*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 794.

[32]*Gaut.*, II.25; *Āp. Dham.*, I.5.17.21; *Manu.*, XI.94. A Brāhmaṇī, who transgresses the law, is denied access to the region of her husband, and is doomed to be born a slut, or a cow, or a vulture. cf. Mitra, *JASB*, 1873, p. 9.

[33]*Mah.*, VI.1.84, p. 58.8-9; *Manu.*, II.120.
[34]I.1.1, p. 2.26.
[35]I.20.
[36]XXXV.1.
[37]Op. cit., vol. I, p. 9.
[38]I.1.1, p. 9.22.
[39]IV.3.98.
[40]IV.1.114, p. 257; VIII.1.15, p. 371.1.
[41]III.3.130, p. 157.10; IV.2.130, p. 300.1.
[42]IV.1.14, p. 206.4.
[43]IV.2.130, p. 300.7.
[44]IV.1.85, p. 237.2.
[45]III.2.122, p. 122.21.
[46]IV.2 60, p. 284.8.
[47]Vana, chap. 135, 8; Udyog, chap. 120-2.
[48]IV.1.104, p. 254.17.
[49]I.1.72, p. 185 10.
[50]I.64.2480.
[51]IV.1 97, p. 253.5; *Mah.*, XIII. 84-85.
[52]VIII.1.15, p. 371.1.
[53]IV.2.52, p. 282.16.
[54]II.2.62, p. 466.15.
[55]VI.2.91, p. 132.9.
[56]I.1.45, p. 111.24.
[57]III.2.120, p. 122.21.
[58]I.1.57, p. 144.20.
[59]I.3.25, p. 281.9.
[60]II.4.10, p. 475.4.
[61]II.4.58, p. 489.6.
[62]II.4.66, p. 493.16.
[63]*vātaya kapilā vidyud ātapāya atilohinī*
pīta bhavati śasyava durbhikṣāya sitā bhavet~II.2.13, p. 449.25-20.
[64]IV.1-3, p. 196.21.
[65]Pātil, *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 47.
[66]pp. 63.2517; 63.
[67]82.367.
[68]58.43.
[69]*His. Ind. Lit.*, vol. I, p. 534.
[70]IV.3-101, pp. 315-18.
[71]Ref. T. Ganapati Śāstrī, *Vararuca Saṃgraha*, preface; p 1. This manuscript edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (no. 33),only about two centuries old, has a running commentary by Dipaprabha who has quoted Bhartṛhari, Kaiyaṭa, Jinendra and Haradatta, but no author posterior to him. Vararuci has been extolled by the commentator to a position of great eminence, equal to that of the Sūtrakāra in respect of freedom of language, and would appear to identify him with Vararuci,

otherwise known as Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārttikas, Gaṇapati Śāstrī, however, places him in the time of Vikrāmāditya.

[72]I.4.3, p. 313.5.

[73]I.2 32, p. 208.19.

[74]I.3.48, p. 283.3.

[75]VII.3.87, p, 338.23.

[76]I 4.56, p. 340.14.

[77]I.1.1, p. 44.2-3; *RV*, X.714.

[78]IV.1.32 p. 213.17.

[79]III1.111, p. 119.7.

[80]II.2.24, p. 426.8.

[81]I.4.3, p. 313.12-13,

[82]V.1.115, p. 363.14-15.

[83]IV.1.48, p. 220. 8-9

[84]II.3.2, p. 444.11.

[85]III.2.48, p. 1.3, 15 ; cf. *Manu.*, XI.203.4.

[86]VIII.1.8, p. 367.1.12-13.

[87]III.3.167, p. 167.12.

[88]II.2.29, p. 431.3-4.

[89]V.4.68, p. 438.9.

[90]*IA*, vol. XIV, pp. 326f; vol. XV, p. 229.

[91]*Hist Sans. Lit.*, p. 47.

[92]'When the term Śloka Vārttikakāra is opposed to the term Vārttikakāra (or Vākyakāra), as has been done by Kaiyaṭa on vol. III, p. 189 or by Bhartṛhari on vol. I, p. 36, writes Kielhorn, 'both of course denote different persons; and in such a case it was hardly necessary for Nāgojibhaṭṭa to tell us that the Vārttikakāra (or Vākyakāra) is Kātyāyana, and the Śloka Vārttikakāra another. He suggests that the verses which have been explained in the *Mahābhāṣya* do not belong to Kātyāyana, but have been borrowed or quoted by Patañjali from other works. There is every reason to believe that these works were composed after the Vārttikas. Though they were written in verse, their aim was the same, which Patañjali had in view when writing his own work to elucidate, correct and improve on the Vārttikas, and to discuss matters connected with individual rules of Pāṇini, or with the system of Pāṇini's grammar, that had not been touched upon by Kātyāyana (Ref. *IA*, vol. XV, p. 229).

[93]I.1.38, p. 96.1-7; III. 2.188, p. 137.4-7.

[94]I.1.56, p. 147.12-13.

[95]Peterson, in a paper on 'Pāṇini, Poet and Grammarian', suggested on the basis of his reading of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāsitāvalī*, who ascribes certain verses to Pāṇini, that "Pāṇini is not the only name which is connected by Indian tradition with the two muses of Grammar and Poetry. What is true of Pāṇini is true of his two commentators, Kātyāyana or Vararuci, and Patañjali." (*JRAS*, 1911, p. 321).

[96]IV. 2.60, p. 284.8.

[97]IV. 3.87, p. 313.22.

[98]*Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 52.
[99]Dasgupta and De, *His. Sans. Lit.*, p. 203; cf. De, *BSOAS*, III, 1925, pp. 507-17.
[100]I.75.3126-28; III.135.10701-35.
[101]IV.2.3, p. 388.10f.
[102]V.3.106, p. 429.8-9.
[103]II.1.3, p. 377.14.
[104]I.3.25, p. 281.1.
[105]I.11.72.3.
[106]I.1.1, p. 11.7.
[107]I.1.26, pp. 84-85.
[108]I.4.23, p. 325.23
[109]II.1.47, p. 397.17.
[110]III.1.42, p. 397.7.
[111]Jacob, *Popular Maxims*, vol. 2, p. 42.
[112]I.39, p. 99.25; IV-1.1, p. 194.17, etc.
[113]I.23, p. 82.3.
[114]I.59, p. 156.8.
[115]Ibid., 9.
[116]Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, XIII, pp. 488ff; Levi, *Theatre Indien*, pp. 308ff; Lüders, *SBAW*, 1916, pp. 698f; Hillebrandt, *ZDMG*, 1.XXII, 227f; pp. Keith, *BSOAS*, I. iv. 27f, *Sans. Dram.*, pp. 31ff.
[117]III.1.26, p. 36.
[118]Op. cit.
[119]Op. cit.
[120]Op. cit.
[121]Op cit.
[122]*BSOAS*, vol. I, p. 31.
[123]I.4.29, p. 329.6.
[124]II.4.77, p. 495.12.
[125]II3.67, p. 468.19.
[126]II.1.69, p. 404.16.
[127]I.4.29, p. 329.7-8.
[128]VI.1.2, p. 7.6.
[129]IV.1.3, p. 196.7.
[130]IV.3.110.
[131]Op. cit.
[132]III.2.84, p. 113.23.
[133]I.2.64, p. 244.9.
[134]Ibid., p. 242.11.
[135]I.1.1, p. 6.12.
[136]I.70, p. 181.24-25.
[137]I.1.1, p. 7.10.
[138]IV.1.3, p. 197.9.
[139]VI.3.86, p. 171.18.
[140]III.2.83, p. 110.2.

[141]III.1.87, p. 68.22.
[142]*Vastutā eva ātmabhedo na tu ekasyaiva karmatvam kārtṛtvam ca*:
[143]I.1.3, S.B. Basu, *Hindus*, p. 2.
[144]VI.2.39, p 125.12.
[145]I.1.1, p. 9.22.
[146]III.2.124, p. 125.15.
[147]I.1.5.
[148]III.2.124, p. 125.15.
[149]I 3.1, p. 254.15.
[150]III.2.115, p. 120.22-23.
[151]II.1.33.
[152]VI.1.1, p. 3.14-16.
[153]III.1.7, p. 14.19-20.
[154]I.1 10.
[155]IV 1,3, p. 196.21.
[156]Ibid., p. 24.
[157]II.2.5, p. 409.24.
[158]V.1.59, p. 355.23.
[159]II.1.1, p. 368.5, etc.
[160]I.1.3, p. 44.
[161]I 2.30, p. 207.10
[162]VI.1.68, p. 46.19.
[163]Cowell, trans., p. 198.
[164]I.1.56, p. 136.10.
[165]V.1.119, p. 366.14.
[166]VIII.1.4, p. 364.25
[167]V.1.38, p. 351.11.
[168]I 1.23, p. 80.25.
[169]IV.3.39, p. 308.21.
[170]II.3.35, p. 437.17.
[171]V.2.97, p. 396.8.
[172]I.1 21, p. 77.22.
[173]I.3.1, p. 254.16.
[174]II.3.13, p. 449.21.
[175]VI.1.12, p. 17.19.
[176]V 2.29, p. 376.17.
[177]V.2.19, p. 340.8.
[178]II.1.51, p. 393.8.
[179]V.1.9, p. 340.8.
[180]VI.1.91, p. 72.16.
[181]III.2.9, p. 94.8.
[182]III.2.84, p. 111.23.
[183]V.1.47, p. 351.21.
[184]VI.1.5, p. 10.28.
[185]II.2.35, p. 437.6.
[186]III.2.9, p. 99.

[187]III.2.101, p. 112.20.
[188]VI.1.89, p. 69.8.
[189]I.1.58, p. 153.13.
[190]I.1.1, p. 38.5.
[191]IV.3.166, p. 328.2.
[192]IV.4.27, p. 213.
[193]IV.3.180, p. 323.5.
[194]IV.1.56, p. 326.11.
[195]V.1.2, p. 337.4.
[196]V.2.29, p. 376.9.
[197]I.1 23, p. 82.6.
[198]II.1.69, p. 434.19.
[199]V.3.55, p. 413.14.
[200]II.1.69, p. 403.11.
[101]V.2.107, 39/.9.
[202]I.1.50, p. 120.6.
[203]II.3.67, p. 268.20.
[204]II.4.12, p. 475.18.
[205]II.3 67, p 468.16.
[206]IV.2.36, p. 278.21.
[207]IV.1.128, p. 258.20.
[208]VI.3.70, p. 168.8.
[209]I.2.67, p. 24.8.
[210]V.3.99, p. 4-9.4.
[211]I.1.1, p. 5.17-18.

Chapter 9

Art and Architecture

The Śuṅga period characterises notable changes in the sphere of art and architecture.[1] The form and style as also social tastes and attitudes and the nature of patronage differentiate it from the early Mauryan art. The so-called national school of art noted for its colossal mass on the one hand, and the court patronage on the other assumes a democratic shape and becomes more popular among the masses. The art of the time provides an illuminating commentary on the life and attitude of the people devoted to Buddha and his gospel. It is an art in relief meant to be seen from the front and to be appreciate. Everything is translated from the dimensions of depth to that of surface. A flowing linear rhythm binds all isolated objects imparting life to the portrayed scenes. The surface of the body as also the contour of the figure is charged with life, while drapery, jewellery and coiffure add elegance and sophistication to the entire composition. Further, this art is primarily Buddhist with the participation of the people in general who gladly donated or dedicated a piece of railing or some other object for the service of the Lord. Despite the religious background underlying these wroks of art, the secular element is traced in the happy, cheerful and merry-making mood of people. The human form unnoticed in the Mauryan Art is prominently displayed and is in complete alignment with natural objects, such as trees, creepers, animals etc. in happy harmony with each other. Human beings are depicted in their natural life style suggesting interfusion of social gradations ranging from the royalty through the nobility and the merchant class to the aborigines. Art, thus, expresses the contemporary Indian mind and outlook in different shades and forms, involving iconographic conception of Indian divinities and such demi-gods and goddesses as Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, Kinnaras and Kinnarīs.

Another important aspect of distinction is the use of stone on

a grand scale. The *takṣan* or the carpenter whose services were needed for carving out beautiful designs and details, is replaced by the *Sailarūpakāra* or the sculptor. Patañaji refers to the *Rājatakaṣan* employed by the king (*takṣa rājakarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svam karmam jahāti*)[2] who then gives up his private work. The *śilpin* is as well mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* earning his livelihood on pay or wages (*śilpino nāma te'pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante vetanam ca lapsyāmahe*).[3] This term *śilpin* could be used for all types of artisans using technical skill. The reference to the two terms—*takṣan* and *śilpin*—the latter in a wider sense—suggests that wood was not completely replaced in that period, and stone was more freely in use for carving out railings and sculptures etc. This change is noticeable in the lunette depicting and elephant procession in the Lomaśa Ṛṣi Cave facade.[4] Another important phase of artistic development in this period is the Cave temple architecture. Caityas and vihāras were especially hewn out of solid rocks to cater to the spiritual and temporal needs of the Buddhist monks. This phase was localised to a particular area in Western India.

The famous stupa at Bhārhut with its railings and *toraṇa*s and at Sāñcī with its railings were also set up in the Śuṅga period, as is evident from the epigraphic records.[5] Mathurā, Kauśāmbī and Sārnāth too were not slow in their artistic activities, and the productions of this period are worth considering. The famous Bodh-Gayā railing enclosing the Bodhi tree also belongs to this period. Besides these centres of Buddhist art, the famous Jain caves at Udaigiri and Khandagiri, as also the Besnagar Garuḍa Column also belong to this period It, thus, becomes imperative to notice the art activities at different centres and assess the contributions of sculptors and architects catering to the needs and requirements of Buddhists as also of Hindu and Jain devotees and members of their respective orders. The potters were equally good artists. The terracotta figures, notable for their mass production as also types, forms and fashions, also demand fuller consideration. The earlier phase of the Rock-cut architecture of western India, and town architectural planning such as are noticed in the scenes carved at Bhārhut and Sāñcī gateways too need not be ignored. There could be chronological overlappings which are unavoidable in such

situations.

Bhārhut Stūpa, Railing and Toraṇa

The Bhārhut stupa is the most notable monument of this period. The body of this monument erected in brick about the middle of the second century BC was completely destroyed by the villagers, but portions of the eastern gateway (*toraṇa*) and of the railings encircling it were found beneath the ruins. These are now in the Indian Museum.[6] Both gateways and railings are lavishly enriched with sculptured reliefs depicting scenes connected with the life of the Buddha whose human figure is in every case conceptual rather than realistic. The method of continuous narration is universally employed and a number of successive episodes from the same story are represented with in the confines of the same panel. The projection no doubt is vertical. The reliefs are invariably low and flat and are protrayed more as silhouettes—in profile—sharply detached from their background. An effort towards modelling is made merely by grading the planes of the relief in sharp and distinctively layers rather than rounding off the contours of the silhouette or interior details. There is symmetry and linear rhythm, binding all isolated objects in one continuous stream of life. The general tone of the art of Bhārhut is modest, sober and restrained, with a special note of solemnity and dignity to attract the devotees. It makes him conscious of the life that need be taken in a spiritual and ethical manner. The votaries drawn from different strata are simple and faithful followers. They do not lack that jovial feeling which one experiences in the presence of the Messiah to alienate his sufferings. This is best noticed in the dancing scene, so beautifully depicted in a rhythmical manner following Gautam attaining enlightenment.[7] The figures of Yakṣas, Nāgas and Kinnaras with their female counterparts are also noticeable.

With all the seriousness of life, viewed in its religious and moral background, one also notices the integrated picture of the social life of the times with the upper and urbane class noted for its sophistication and delicate tastes and the lower and the aboriginal class with its simplicity—both representing different facets of society. Human life is exhibited by the sculptors in its natural form. The sculptures from Bhārhut on the *toraṇas* now in the Indian Museum, as also on the railings has no doubt been

treated in detail by many scholars, and so it might be interesting to notice only a few new ones, now in the Allahabad Museum.[8] A coping stone from Bhārhut, now in the Allahabad Museum,[9] depicts the Gaja-Jātaka scene. At the top there is a border of stepped merlons with alternate horizontal lotuses, while below are four panels cut by an undulating creeper. The first contains only a hanging cloth, but in the second one two figures are shown engaged in conversation. They stand between two houses with vaulted roofs, star-shaped windows and mud walls. The figure on the left holds an animal in his left hand while another person is seen seated on the top of another cottage. A *cakra* is placed between two *thūpikas* on the top of the cottage to the left. In the third panel are shown ornaments – ear rings, bangles and armlet. The last panel has a simple cottage (*parṇakuṭi*). An inscription on the stone is read as Gaja Jātaka Sasa, which is completed on the right with the word Jātaka. B.M. Barua considered[10] the text of the entire label analogous to another Bhārhut Jātaka label reading Viḍāla Jātaka, Kukuṭa Jātaka. The two creatures mentioned in different stories seem to be important characters of the Gaja-Kumbha Jātaka[11] which describe the previous birth of the Buddha as a minister of the king of Vārāṇasī who took a tortoise and a hare giving to the slothful king an object lesson of how the indolent came to misery. The tortoise is symbolised by his laziness and the hare by his activity though the popular version is just the opposite.

The Sasa Jātaka story is also prominently displayed in another sculpture[12] on a rail pillar from Bhārhut, now in the Allahabad Museum. A spouted jar with two baskets fitted with mangoes is shown to the right with a fire altar in the centre and an animal facing it. At the back side another animal, whose head and half body are cut off, is shown seated in the left corner. A lizard and another figure is between the hare and the half-cut animal. This hare of the Sasa Jātaka[13] sacrificed himself by plunging into the fire when food was demanded from him by Śakra in disguise. In this scene, the hare is ready to jump into the fire. This Jātaka scene is also observed at Nāgārjunikuṇḍa[14] and in a sculpture in the British Museum.[15] The hare's nobility forms the subject of discourse to the land owner of Savathi who had entertained the Buddha and his disciplines for seven

days at Savathi.

Among other sculptures from Bhārhut in Allahabad Museum,[16] is a coping stone showing an elephant on the move with two riders carrying the relics of the Buddha. This could be suggestive of one of the claimants carrying his share after the division of the relics. At the top, as usual, there is a border of stepped merlons alternating with blue lotuses, and at the bottom are bells fastened to a hanging chain. Among other Jātaka scene[17] the Vessantara one is depicted on a corner pillar from Bhārhut with two faces, each side being divided into three panels by horizontal bands of railing. The uppermost panel shows a royal personage riding on a richly caprisoned elephant with two small figures, probably attendants, standing near the tusk of the elephant. In the middle are four horses with manes while a male figure probably stands or is seated on a chair. The lower most panel, as usual, shows two stumpy figures supporting the structure with their upraised hands. On the other side in the uppermost penal a royal figure pours water with a *kamaṇḍalu* in the hands of a Brāhmaṇa who faces him. At the back two male figures stand with upraised hands. In the second penal four horses with beautiful manes are yoked in a chariot, and three Brahmins with their matted hair stand near the feet of the horses with folded hands. At the bottom two stumpy figures support the heavy structure with their upraised hands. This Jātaka story has its moral of sacrifice for others even at the cost of one's privation. This Jātaka story is represented in another panel of Bhārhut railing[18] as well as at Sāñcī.[19]

Other fragments of coping stones from Bhārhut depict in one case two deer grazing and a Brahmin standing inside the foliage of a *mandāra* tree. The bottom shows hanging bells while at the top is the usual border of stepped merlon. In another coping stone a peacock stands with out-spread tail, the body is cut-off and only a part of it is visible under a panel made by an undulating creeper.[20] This piece is too mutilated to provide a faithful presentation of the scene from the Haṃsa Jātaka—its caption inscribed on the top. There are several other scenes depicting luxuriant vegetation in harmony with linear rhythm. A fragment of a coping stone from Bhārhut portrays an *aśvatha* tree inside a panel made by an undulating creeper, and two deer grazing and a man standing inside the foliage

of a *mandāra* tree. The bottom, as usual, shows hanging bells. The identification of the scene lies between the two Jātaka stories viz. Kandina (no. 13) and Kuruṅga (no. 21).

There are also a few examples of secular scenes of Śuṅga art noted for humorous and jovial atmosphere. One such is the acrobatic scene on a pillar post,[21] showing a group of hanging men numbering nine and firmly holding the feet of one just above with both the hands. Their dress is a loin cloth tied by a scarf, embroidered turban, necklace and bracelets, and a long scarf thrown round the shoulder with ends failing on either side. To the right and left stand a male and a female with folded hands on lotuses. The inscription on the sculpture records it as the gift of the nun Puṣyadattā of Nāgarika. The association of an acrobatic scene, like the wrestling and dancing ones, is supposed[22] to fit in well into the artistic scheme of the Bhārhut railing, probably suggesting some festive gathering (*samāja*) at the time of the stupa festival (*thupamaha*). The famous heavenly dancing scene from Bhārhut is another example of festivities portrayed in art of a religious nature.

The Bhārhut reliefs are usually accompanied by contemporary descriptive inscriptions. Inscribed figures of guardain Yakṣas, and Yakṣīs, Nāgarājas and Devatas etc. constitute extensive icons figuring on the *toraṇa* posts.[23] These divinities carved on the railings on the upright, populate the ambulatory at Bhārhut. They are considered as guardians of nature and figure as devotees of the Lord. One of the frequent motifs of the Bhārhut railing is the *dohada*,[24] a woman or Yakṣī embracing a tree which might be symbolic of some fertility rite. The carving of these figures of tutelary spirits, as well as the workmanship of the medallions[25] and gateway suggest the mastery of the stone carver in his art and over his technique, and the area of their artistic activities was not particularly localised but considerably wide. This is evident from the stone carvings not only at Bhāruht but also at Sāñcī and Mathurā as well as at Bodh-Gayā in this period. These necessitate separate study.

Sāñcī

According to Marshall,[26] the original structure of burnt brick of the great stupa had suffered great damage before the outer casing was added to it, and it is plausibly conjuctured that it

was done under orders from Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. The stupa was of about the same size as that of Aśoka at Sārnāth about 60′ in diameter at the base with a raised terrace surrounding its base and a crowning pinnacle (*hārmikā*), surmounted by one or more umbrellas (*chatrāvalî*) within a small square railing. In the absence of any vestige of the early form of the stupa, it is proposed that it was reconstructed under one of the Śuṅga kings about the middle of the second century BC. The additions made by way of reconstruction were in the form of stone encasing the whole body of the stupa with the lofty stone terrace and two flights of stairs at the base; the stone flagging of the older-fashioned one of wood—one around ground level procession path, a second around the terrace berm, and a third on the top of the dome, and lastly the stone *hārmikā* and umbrellas (*chatrāvalī*) crowning the whole. The additions might not have been done during the reign of the anti-Buddhist Puṣyamitra, as pointed out by Marshall, nor on palaeographic reasons could innovations be brought down much later than the middle of the second century BC.

The contribution of the Śuṅga period is confined to the minor carvings on the berm and the airway balustrades of stupas 1 and 3, which, according to Marshall, once again,[27] were executed shortly after the middle of the second century BC, but they shed liltle light on the history of local art in stone. The sculptures of stupa no. 2 are the earliest important examples of indigenous relief work in stone. The problem of the subject matter did not present much difficully as the sculptors were familiar with the motifs associated with the life of the Master. The massive railing of 88 pillars round the stupa, which was completed in a couple of years time, provided the canvas for the stone artists to display their talents. Plants, flowers and trees with their characteristics were associated with human figures along with the quadrupeds—elephant, horse, lion aud bull, who in early Buddhist art represent the life activities of the Master. A galaxy of fabulous creatures, fish-tailed *makaras*, winged human heads, stags with elephant heads and fish tails, cobra-headed Nāgas with human bodies, and such other creatures which could be easily conceived, found a place on the railings.

The stone carvings display disparity in the quality of workmanship and lack uniformity. This is rather natural, since the

posts, cross-bars, and coping stones were donated by different persons, and the sculptures too were the art productions of different artists. The designs and tastes naturally varied because of the resources of the donor and the talents of the carver.[28] The principal designs and motifs, however, are frequently repeated, particularly the tree of life design, or the Māyā Lakṣmī figures.[29] Some different still is perceptible despite the monotony in such designs. The 'Wheel of Law' (*Dharma-cakra*) surmounting a pillar, and the latter supported by the 'Tree of Life' is repeated a number of times with variations on the balustrade.[30] It is needless to go into the differences pointed out by Marshall. Despite unequal merits, the reliefs with a few exceptions form a thoroughly homogenous group marked by a few characteristic features, rather of a technical nature.

The technical observation from the point of view of stone cutting reveals that the reliefs are strictly in one plane with little attempt at deep stone-cutting whether for human, floral or animal figures, or decorative devices. Here the law of frontality applied in the case of human beings, and the memory picture are put into full operation. This has resulted in the front-faced carvings of the figures with their feet usually turned sideways, though occasionally in the same direction.[31] In some cases weight is thrown on both the legs with the two halves exactly corresponding.[32] Generally the arms and legs are in varying postures. Thus, if one arm is raised then the other one hangs down, or held horizontally across the waist. The figures finally stand out in well-defined relief. There is also a tendency to depart from the rigidity and stiffness, so common in the early Buddhist art at Bhārhut, and the artist appears successful in his attempt. A more developed style is as well traced, as for example, in the case of an elephant and riders trampelling on a prostrate foe at the base of a pillar.[33] The riders are sitting with ease, but the elephant is carved out with a degree of freedom and energy. The realistic attitude of the beasts, and the vigorous, yet delicate modelling of their heads, plead for a more matured nature of art in these reliefs which are wholly Indian. 'It is likely', as pointed out by Marshall that the sculptor imitated his elephant group from

some well-known prototype of that subject with which he was familiar, and which was more advanced in style and technique. It might not have been an exact copy of the model before him or that one which he might have been and clearly remembered. Marshall has explained[34] that in the second and first centuries BC, the dissemination in India of Asiatic Greek art in the form of coins, gem, terracottas, small carvings and textiles acted as a valuable stimulus to indigenous art, not only providing it with new motifs but leading in many cases to the adoption of the more developed technique. He also traced the strength of the Western Asiatic influence in such motifs as centaurs human-headed lions and fish-tailed stags and mermaids, and perhaps also in the Yakṣī grasping a bough.[35] A comparison of the Buddhist art at Sañcī with that at Bhārhut would no doubt reveal certain common features and differences as also traces of foreign influence.

Characteristically Indian, both the schools were struggling from the trammels of archaism into freedom and exhibit somewhat similar traits of awkwardness and stiffness due to the constraint of 'memory image', lack of perspective and the stiff law of frontality. Marshall concludes[36] that the reliefs of Bhārhut, like those of Sāñcī, are distinguished by the presumption of a small percentages of carvings of unusually free and advanced style, which there are good reasons for ascribing to north-western influence. Taken as a whole, the reliefs of Bhārhut mark a definite advance on those of stupa 2 at Sañcī. In regard to subjects, they are altogether more ambitious, the sculptors are no longer content with simple decorations or figurine groups, as one notices at Sāñcī, but set themselves to portray a variety of scenes representing episodes from the life of the Tathāgata or his previous births. Even in limited space many figures have been squeezed in, thus crowding the gateway's relief.

The difference between the sculptures at Sāñcī and those at Bhārhut are due to different traditions and methods. At Sāñcī, the art is more natural and unconstrained, the poses of the figures are full and easy, as the skill of the sculptor could make them, with their contours smooth and rounded, and their minor features unaccentuated. On the contrary, at Bhārhut the sculptor seems striving after conscious definition and truth

rather than unaffected simpilcity without laxity in style—rather tense and artificial. The contours are clear-cut and precise, with 'anatomical details consciously and incisely defined and every ornament put with meticulous accuracy. Marshall noticed a certain restrained mannerism, a pleasing affectation and dignified stylishness about these sculptures, which are not found on the earlier balustrade of stupa 2, or on the later gateways at Sāñcī. Further, the Indian art of Malwa, according to the late Director-General of Archaeology, lacks in religious tone; that of Bhārhut is more impressive and ecclesiastic. Bhārhut is said to be more closely connected with the early school of Mathurā which might have been the principal centre from which it diffused, and its eclipse might have been due to the Śaka conquest of that city sometime in the first century BC.

The above-recorded suggestions of Marshall have raised many interesting points for comment. His presumption about the posterior character of the Bhārhut art with its more ambitious and advanced nature of sculptures, fitted for the purpose of depicting the true ecclesiastical history of Buddhism, seems to be based on certain Kharoṣṭhī characters engraved as mason marks at Bhārhut. It appears to be a far-fetched assumption. The Kharoṣṭhī signature in the Maski inscription recording the Minor Rock-Edict of Aśoka is equally inexplicable and cannot be a ground for the posterior character of the record or of foreign influence. In this context it was presumed by Smith[37] that the scribes of the day were skilled in both the scripts.

It has been suggested that these Kharoṣṭhī signs imply the utilization of foreign artists who were called to help the local talents. Political relations, such as existed between the Indo-Greeks and the Śuṅga rulers of Vidiśā close to Sāñcī would certainly have made it possible to indent on foreign talents in the art productions of the Malwa school, but one does not trace Kharoṣṭhī signs there. Coomaraswamy suggested[38] that in some aspects the art at Sāñcī seemed to start from a point less advanced than that of the preceding century. Thus, some reliefs (fig. 52) exhibit a much greater knowledge of the figure representing pose and movement with animation and grace, and the stylistic advancement cannot imply foreign

influence nor does the phrase 'direct observation of nature' and 'free from the trammels of the memory image' meet the case.

It may, however, be suggested that the two schools of Bhārhut and Sāñcī were independent of each other, though they had to rely on a few guiding principles and canons based on mental visualization and abstraction, and obtained by some form of synthesis. The improvement in style and pose depended on the carver's skill. As such one finds on the same railing some reliefs treating the human figures in a more primitive manner, while others reveal a more advanced form. As regards the age of the two schools, they were more or less contemporary, but Bhārhut seems to be a slightly older one. It is rather strange to find Bhārhut dying out with the end of the Śuṅga rule, while Sāñcī continued to flourish in the time of the Andhras and the Kuṣāṇas as well. As regrads their relations with the Mathurā art, Bhārhut was certainly connected with it, but whether the former was an offshoot of the latter or just the other way is still undecided and it is better to keep an open mind on this question. Vogel referred to the mixed character of the Mathurā school in which we find on the one hand a direct continuation of the old Indian art of Bhārhut and Sāñcī, and on the other hand the classical influence derived from Gandhāra.[39] These views might be applicable to the later phase of the Mathurā art. During the Śuṅga period, there does not appear to be any influence from the north-west.

Bodh-Gayā

The railing at Bodh-Gayā enshrining the early Buddhist shrine provides an important landmark in the history of early Indian art. The carvings are in the Bhārhut style but more advanced in technique as well as in visual form and plastic effect. The narrative reliefs are free from unnecessary details and only the essential elements are retained. About 30 pieces were found, some of granite and others of sand stone, but all are uniform in style. According to Cunningham[40], there is considerable variety in the subjects depicted in these small medallions. These certain illustrations of the famous *Kalpa-druma* or 'wishing tree', the *Indra-śāla-guhā* and the *Jethvana vihāra* scenes. It is needless to go into details regarding the description of these scenes which are not new or capable of

any fresh interpretation. The Bodh-Gayā version of the same subject as compared to the one at Bhārhut is more suggestive and aesthetically more appealing. The figures move freely and with ease and clarity because of the abbreviated form of narration. Originality and abstraction, as we find at Bhārhut are wanting but the carvings have special interest. These embody, according to Mashall[41], two distinct traditions—that of the Bhārhut-Mathurā school which is specially noticeable in the lotus medallions centred with human heads or busts. These, however, lack the same breadth of style and firmness and precise modelling. The treatment of the features is insignificant and workmanship is comparatively poor. The influence of the Malwa school is noticeable in easy posture and rounded contours of some of the figures, and the simple but orderly composition. By way of illustration, reference might be made to the Jetavana scene as depicted in the two centres. The Bodh-Gayā one[42] is more natural without any attempt being made to distort figures by placing them in the available space in any corner and at any angle, as one notices at Bhārhut.[43] The Bodh-Gayā scene, however, lacks vigour and freshness. Anāthapiṇḍika is missing here and so also are the Gandha and Kośambakuṭīs in their natural surroundings with a group of persons. This narration at Bodh-Gayā is depicted in an unostentatious manner, without vigour but in a simpler form without angular deformities.

Most of the other subjects are treated in low relief, those on the copings are purely fanciful. One of the panels and medallians include weird creatures, winged beasts, domestic animals, sacred trees and sundry scenes of human life exhibiting considerable skill in drawing and neat execution. According to Vincent Smith,[44] both the conceptions and executions are purely Indian. Marshall, however, thought[45] that a marked feature of the latter, as well as of the earlier sculptures at Bodh-Gayā was the presence among them of various motifs of Hellenistic or Western Asiatic origin, such as, centaurs, winged and fish-tailed monsters, tritons, schematic animal freezes, and most significant of all—the Sun-god in his characteristic four-horse chariot. Those show how freely in that period. Indian sculptors were borrowing from the hybrid cosmopolitan art of Western India, and one of them, at least the chariot of the

Sun-god gives a clear indication of the debt they may have owed to that art in the matter of technique.

Now here, too, one may not agree with Marshall's views regarding the influence of Western Asiatic art at Bodh-Gayā in the first century BC. This question is very doubtful. It may be pointed out here that the worship of the Sun—*Sūrya* was fairly common, and Patañjali refers[46] to this deity several times in his text. He is also portrayed at Bhaga.[47] So the subject is Indian in origin. The material from the *Mahābhāsya* relating to flora and fauna of that period is equally rich and negates any suggestion of foreign import. It is very likely that the Indian sculptors who had hardly any model before them mentally visualized the forms of such figures. They seem to have sprung directly from the soil. It would, however, he better to keep an open mind on the subject in view of the Indo-Hellenic contacts of the Mauryan period.

Besnagar Column

This column, quite close to Sāñcī, was set up by Heliodorus, son of Dion, an ambassador from the court of Antialkidas to that of Bhagabhadra, the Śuṅga rular at Vidiśā. This pillar is much smaller than the Aśokan one and has eight angles. It is furnished with an ornamentation consisting of half-lotus flowers, and above it is divided into sixteen panels, followed by a broad cluster of fruits and finally the shaft continues towards the summit with a surface divided into thirty-two panels. The last stretch is smooth and the capital exhibits the well-known bell-shape.[48] A few geese are noticed inclining one towards the other on the remains of the abacus. The whole structure was originally crowded with a Garuḍa. According to Percy Brown,[49] the shape and fluting of the cuneiform capital are of the Persepolitan provenance but at the same time bear a marked resemblance to the capital of the Bhārhut *toraṇa*—its contemporary. In the ornamentation of the shaft, the lower part of which is octagonal and the upper sixteen-sided, with a band above of thirty-two facets, there might have been the beginning of a method of enriching this part of the pillar which was developed with notable effect in the columns of the later style. Now, barring the shape and the fluting of the cuneiform capital which is not uncontroversial, the capital does not betray any

foreign influence, despite its dedication by a foreigner. Marshall in this context points[50] out that 'the Persepolitan columns and the winged lions might well have been a legacy from Mauryan times when Yavana artists were employed by Aśoka. Even if their advent into India took place at a late date, their presence implies nothing more than that foreign objects of art of one kind or another had strayed into the workshops of central India, and these furnished the local sculptors with a few more motifs and ideas.' We have no reason to presume that the Yavana influence on central Indian art was more direct in that period. One need hardly deny that owing to political and cultural contacts, it was natural for the Indian sculptors and carvers to know some new motifs, but it is difficult to trace any influence other than this superficial contact.

Mathurā[51]

Mathurā is notable for the most conspicuous specimens of the old Indian school of art, and it is more akin to Bhārhut with remarkable parallels of *toraṇas*, railings, Yakṣas, *vṛkṣas*, dwarf and fantastic animals. Its essentially Indian character need not be disputed. The Mathurā school of art can trace its history atleast from the Śuṅga period, though the famous Yakṣa statues are supposed[52] to be of earlier times. The absence of an Aśokan column here is no doubt regrettable. During the Śuṅga period its importance is not unaccounted for. Patañjali mentions it a number of times, and also notices its association with the Surasenas who figured prominently as one of the sixteen states in the sixth centuty BC. The characteristic Mauryan polish is not traced on any of the sculptures. On the basis of Hsuan-tsang's testimony,[53] the existence of old stupas here could be presumed. The earlier class of sculptures belong to the second century BC and this includes the Parkham and Mansādevī statues. Many more Yakṣa statues belonging to this period have been found since Marshall wrote[54] about them in the early twenties. These Yakṣa statues are a class by themselves, noted for their colossal mass and certain aesthetic features. As these statues are not confined to Mathurā alone, it is presumed[55] that they were the products of a school of art, wholly the result of indigenous traditions and possessing distinct individuality inspiring the sculptors to carve out massive

images of Yakṣas and their counterparts. These are also represented on railings and *toraṇas* at Bhāhut, Sāñcī and Bodh Gayā. The cult of these Yakṣas, and Yakṣīs notable as the earliest specimen of Indian art war, according to Coomaraswamy,[56] indigenous in origin with these non-Aryan deities or genii endowed with powers of wealth and fertility which they could confer on the devotee. Before the advent of Buddhism and Jainism, they had been accepted as orthodox in Brahmanical theology with a corresponding cosmology of the famous Eight Quarters of the Universe. Their worship survived for long but in sectarian literature they served the purpose of exalting the principle deity either as guardians and defenders of the faith or to be pointed as 'horrible example of depravity'.

From the iconographic point of view, the Yakṣa statues have their protuberant belly (*kumbodara*), long *dhotî* tied with a belt and have a special pose—raising of the right hand and putting the left on the hip. This formula might have served as the guiding principle for the carving out of images not excluding the Buddha image, as one finds at Mathurā and Sārnāth. Coomaraswamy suggested[57] that the early image of Yakṣas or Yakṣīs, whether independent or as attendant, provided the model for the cult images of other deities such as Śiva or Buddha, when *bhakti* determined the appearance of all deities in visible forms. The stylistic continuity is maintained in the Parkham and Patna Yakṣa images, as well as is those of the Bodhisattvas at Sārnāth and the Buddha statue in the State Museum at Lucknow.

As regards the antiquities of the Śuṅga period, a few sculptures carved either on railing figures or cross bars[58] might be noticed here. These include two sides of a Toraṇa Tympanum[59] showing scenes from Buddha's life both through symbols and in human form. The last one possibly represents the traditional stage. A railing figures[60] obtained from the Yamunā near the Saptari—Tila ghat is especially important for the scene carved on the upper—half rosette. It is identified by Foucher[61] as 'the Jātaka of the worst evil'. In its simple style of decoration the usual type of the Brahmanical anchorite is easily recognizable with his heavy chignon, his beard and short garments. He is shown seated on a rolled up mat (*bhṛṣi*) at the door of his round hut (*parṇaśālā*) and engaged in coversation with four

wild creatures. These include a dove, a crow, a kneeling doe and a coiled snake. There is hardly any trace of foreign influence either in style or in the subject matter. The style is reminiscent of the old Indian school, as pointed out by Foucher. According to the story of the Jātaka, the worst evil is neither irresistible passion (*kāma*), hunger or covetedness (*lobha*), envenomed hatred (*dvesa*) nor perpetual fear (*bhaya*), but the body itself, the source of all troubles. Final repose comes from *Nirvāṇa* which is the supreme beatitude.

Another complete upright pillar[62], belonging to the second century BC has the carved figure of a dancing Yakṣī wearing a copious head dress, and elaborate ornaments consisting of double ear-rings, *padaka*, pearl necklace, a chain passing over the left shoulder and an elaborate belt, besides the usual armlets, bracelets and anklets. The Yakṣī is shown surmounting an atlantes dwarf with protruding eyes. The top panel has the figure of the Buddha, according to Agarwal, with a parasol, holding disputation with teachers of rival faiths. Really the figure appears to be that of Mahāvrīa, the Jain Tīrthaṃkara, because the Buddha image does not appear in the sculptures of the Śuṅga period. It is, however, clear that the Mathurā sculptors had placed their services at the disposal of all the three important religions—Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. The figure is so small that the Śrī Vatsa symbol is not noticed. According to Coomaraswamy[63], the main Jain establishment already existed at Kankali Tila in Mathurā in the second century BC.

The Mathurā school is more related to Bhārhut than to Sāñcī, and is represented by some fragmentary sculptures dating back to the middle of the second century BC. These include Brahmanical images like that of a two-armed Balarāma. He has a canopy of serpenthood, the head and snake coils carved at the back and sides of the body, the distinguishing symbol—a club (*mūsala*) in right hand and a plough (*hala*) in the left hand. It is now in the State Museum at Lucknow.[64] The distinguishing dress, turban, ear-rings, triangular folds of the *dhotī* as well as the frontal effect of the carving are suggestive of its dating in the Śuṅga period. In this context reference might be made to Patañjali noticing the temples of Rāma viz. Balarāma and Keśava, along with the playing of musical

instruments[65] there in religious gatherings. This statue of Balarāma, thus, appears to be the earliest image of a Brhamanical deity carved at Mathurā

Mathurā was equally rich in railing pillars round a stupa or caitya, enshrining some object of worship and forming its own architectural pattern. These railings formed enclosures of both Buddhist and Jain stupas. As regards the Buddhist stupas, according to Hsuan-tsang, there were still to be seen in the kingdom of Mathurā the stupa in which were deposited relics of the holy disciples of Śākyamuni. Five or six *li*, that is about a mile to the east of the town was a monastery said to have been built by the venerable Upagupta.[66] As regards the Jain stupa, it could be dated, according to Smith,[67] about 100 or 50 BC. The contribution of the Śuṅga period towards the evolution of the Mathurā school of art was not confined to statues of Yakṣas and their counterparts, and railing pillars, but included terracottas as well. These terracotta pieces have been recovered from many sites in the Gangā valley, and necessitate separate study.

Terracottas[68]

Forming an important constituent of art, the terracottas and their history could be traced to the period of the Indus Valley civilization. They are conveniently divided[69] into four groups: (i) the Indo-Sumerian; (ii) the period from 1000-300 BC; (iii) the Śuṅga or early Andhra; and (iv) The Scytho-Parthian, Kuṣāṇa, Gupta and later. The main difference between the terracottas of different periods from a technical point of view is that those of the first group are modelled and there is use of moulds. Those of the second group have moulded face and modelled body without any part being separately made or affixed. Those of the third group are moulded. Further, while nudism is one of the most important characteristics of the female figurines in the earlier groups, those of the last group are practically clothed. The nude goodness in the terracottas of the Śuṅga period is absent, and on the technical side completely moulded plaques replace the modelled figurines. The body is never built up of separate parts now or in future, though this method was followed in the making of wax moulds for the costing of bronze. The most characteristic type, as

pointed by Coomaraswamy,[70] is a feminine divinity fully clothed in a tunic and *dhotī*. Particular care is taken to show the details very clearly. The jewelled girdle remains a permanent feature, though the types are varied. The figures and head dress retain practically the form and details of the round-faced variety of the previous group and the turbans are rather longer. Coomaraswamy's conclusions are based on the terracottas in the Boston Museum which, except for a few of the first group, seem to have come from Mathurā.[71] Besides Mathurā, there were other centres as well noted for making these clay pieces. The late savant has referred[72] to the terracottas of the Maurya and Śuṅga ages from Basarh, Taxila, Bhīta, Nāgarī, Pāṭaliputra, Kosam and Sāṅkiśa.

At Mathurā, the finds of moulds of the Śuṅga period suggest[73] that considerable progress was made in the technique of making terracotta figurines out of an original model, which was first prepared in wax or clay and from which a mould was taken by squeezing on it clay which was baked, so that copies could be made completely out of it. The simpler method was adopted of pressing the clay into the mould and roughly finishing the back by hand. Thus, the figurines and reliefs were totally made from moulds, and not partly as in earlier times. On the technical side, completely moulded plaques replaced the modelled one, and only the partial moulding of the face was done in this period. There is some variation in the standing or seated types, particularly noticed in the pose of the figure or in the fan, mirror or other objects held in hands.[74] Stylistically the terracottas are more akin to the Bhārhut sculptures, as observed in faces and ornamentation. Definite relationship exists between clay and stone objects. Among the important terracottas of the Śuṅga period are the dancing female or *nartakī*, engaged in her toilet, a woman in dancing piece and a wind pipe playing Yakṣa.[75] These pieces are secular in character. The female figurines in different poses of acting, dancing with music and playing with a parrot are some of the common subjects of terracotta art. There are some religious ones as well, including the goddess Śrī Padmā or Gaja Lakṣmī with two elephants holding inverted jars and standing on uprising stalks of lotuses or the goddess Vasundharā[76] with triple fish symbols shown on the right side. There are also other examples

with male and female figurines in the pairs symbolising procreation (*mithuna*) or appearing as pot-bellied dwarfs (*kukṣila yakṣas*) and dwarfish figures.[77] A round plaque, shows a pair engaged in joy ride. It is an excellent piece and suggests the high quality of Śuṅga terracotta art.[78] There are also excellent terracottas illustrating different types of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs—the pot bellied (*kukṣîla*), ithyphallic (*kumbhamuṣka*), snouted (*tuṇḍalika*) and nude dwarf (*nagnaka*).

Several interesting terracottas of the Śuṅga period have been recovered from Kosam, Bhīta and Pāṭaliputra. The Kosam ones include the famous Vāsavadattā-Udayana[79] scene plaques. These are now in the Bharat Kalā Bhawan Museum at Vārāṇasī. Originally from Kauśāmbī the terracotta plaques depicts the story of Vāsavadattā's escape in an interesting manner. A complete version of the story is provided in two plaques. There are three riders on the back of a female elephant without tusks. Her front leg is raised. The one at the front holds the goad in her hand against the head of the elephant. A male sitting by the side of a female holds a lute of seven strings. The two are Vāsavadattā and Udayana. The former's dress consists of *sārî* with the usual ornaments, heavy ear-rings and a necklace. Udayana wears a *dhotī*. At the back is another person holding the rope fastened round the body of the animal and throwing coins which are being picked up by two persons. There is a border of small rosettes, and decorative flowers occupy the free space in the background The story of Vāsavadattā was well-known in the time of Patañjali and he refers to it in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

At Bhīta, too, terracottas of different periods were found in excavations, including some of the Śuṅga period. One scene in the group, belonging to this period, is identified by Vogel[80] with the Śakuntalā-Duṣyanta meeting scene. At the top, two persons look over railing with foliage to right. Below, to the right a four horse chariot along with its master are noticed with a groom. To the left there is a shrine with a caitya doorway and railing round it. In front and below the shrine is a tank with lotuses and a figure drawing water. At the bottom are two deer and a peacock (?) to the right. There are also some terracotta pieces from Basarh, in the Muzaffarpur district, conforming closely to the earlier Mathurā type. These are mostly assign-

ed[81] to the period 120 BC to the close of the first century BC.

As regards the terracottas from Pāṭaliputra, Gordon classified[82] them under two groups. There are somewhat large heads, one of a childlike appearance of a rather unique character, and the other having a bicorns head dress, and there are almost complete figures with clothing and decoration and poorly proportioned limbs. An examination of these figures reveals that except for the childlike face, these figures have round 'pug nose' style of face which, according to Gordon, may be placed between the period *c.* 150-50 BC. There is little doubt that all are really in the same round-faced flat-nosed tradition, and these figurines may be of Mauryan date. Stylistically they appear to be of the Śuṅga period. On the other hand, Ghosh in his study of the early Indian terracotta figurines unearthed at Kumrahār, Bulandibagh and Patna University area, suggested[83] that they belonged to the Mauryan period but those from Taxila and Basarh in the early Indian group, were really of the Śuṅga age. Two terracotta human heads and two similar fragmentary specimens from Buxar in Bihar noticed by N.G. Majumdar[84] are also assigned to the Śuṅga time.

The best terracotta piece of the Suṅga period is the famous Śrī Mā-figurine, now in the Indian Institute Museum at Oxford. It is notable for its dress and ornamentation. Johnston suggested[85] with some reservation that the figurine represented Māyā who was worshipped in the Gaṅgā valley as Mother Goddess. She was associated with fertility, symbolised in the case of this terractotta figurine by fish and 'makara' indicating sexual love. This statuette was not a votive plaque, but intended to be affixed to a rounded face, as shown by the curvature of the back ard two small holes for nails made with stamps of different varieties.

Architecture

During the Śuṅga period, there were definite improvements in the field of architecture. The stupa at Sāñcī was enlarged to nearly twice its size. The temporary wooden railing round the stupa was replaced by a stone one, serving as an impressive production in the range of conventional Buddhist art. The richly carved reliefs depicting scenes from the Jātakas enhanced its architectural and artistic value. Such railings were added

at Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā as well. The *toraṇa* or gateway was also erected at Bhārhut in this period; at Sāñcī the gateways were added later on. The more important architectural contributions of this period are the rock-cut caityas and viharas which were hewn out in the Sylvan hills of the Western Ghats. The Śuṅga monarch had no hand in such architectural acitvities but the period is noted for artistic and architectural in other parts of the country with the quarry-men ever busy with their hammers and chisels, cutting out caves for the Buddhist monks in Western India and for the Jain ascetics in Eastern India, particularly in Orissa.

The architectural formation in these rock-cut retreats was the monastery proper with an arrangement for the accommodation of monks in the vihara or monastery, a square central hall entered by doorway in front of which was a vestiblue, portico or verandah. The doorway entered into square cells carried still further into the rock which provided residence for the monks. The style of architecture employed in the rock-cut monasteries was a reproduction of the than existing structural originals of such wooden buildings. Even the details relating to the joints or fastening of constructions were copied. The earlier rock work was supplemented by a good amount of wooden construction attached to its surface. Of the two structures—the caitya was more important than the vihara, with its apsidal end, colonnades and ribs at the top. The stupa, also carved out of the rock, occupied a prominent place near the end. It was plain except for the railing which was carved, and the *hārmiḳā* with the parasol. The Hīnayāna rock-cut temples of this period are at Bhaja, Kondana, Pitalkhora, Ajantā (no. 10), Bedsa and Ajantā (no. 9), Nāsik and Karle, probably carved out in this order. It is proposed by Percy Brown[86], that the first few were cut out in the second century BC and others in the first century BC.

The Orissan rock-cut architecture dating in the 2nd century BC consists of a collection of chambers meant for the Jain monks. There are no caitya halls, but only cellular retreats, similar to the Buddhist viharas at the other end in Western Ghats. The famous inscription of King Khāravela of Kalinga provides an earlier date for the construction of these caves. According to Percy Brown,[87] all the excavations of the Orissan

group appear to have been made in the 150 years previous to the Christian era after which the production activity ceased. A short revival, however, took place on the Khaṇḍagiri hill in the medieval period when a few Jain cells were added. These Orissan group caves suggest an independent development with little in common with any other rock-cut architecture. The Rānīgumphā provides the characteristic features of the architectural treatment in the Orissan cave temples. Percy Brown noticed[88] in the designs of the pillars supporting the verandahs and the pilaster of the mural arcadings two traditions—one of indigenous origin derived from a wooden prototype and the other noticed in the pilasters on the walls with their capitals formed of addorsed animals. These represent, according to him, the debased descendants of the Persepolitan Order. In spite of this classical motif, as suggested by Brown, there is much in the decorative nature of the arches to connect it with the early architectural art of the country.

The Town Architectural Plan

Some idea of the architectural plan of buildings can be gathered from a study of the sculptures at Bhārhut and Sāñcī. These provide models for houses and places supposed to have been built in that period. Coomaraswamy made a special study[89] of this aspect of architecture on the basis of the sculptural scenes depicting dwellings, especially the *prāsādas*, and the literary evidence available from the Jātakas and other Pāli literature. The term *pāsāda* (*prāsāda*) meant in ancient times a mansion, typically of several stories, though it often denoted a palace or other pretentious dwelling. On the Bhārhut basreliefs, one notices two types of buildings—the domed and the round ones in plan, and the barrel ones, sometimes three storied in height. The Vaijayanta Prāsāda, the place of the Devas in the *Travastriṃśa* heaven, is depicted as a three storied structure[90], the highest one in sculptures. The basement story is an open pillared hall; the lower third of its height is however closed by a Buddhist railing. The building is divided horizontally into three portions. The lower third of the second storey is also closed by a Buddhist railing, above which rise three arched openings, one on each section of the building. A broad band above these, probably of

mouldings, runs the whole width of the temple. The third storey also has a Buddhist railing above which are two arched openings. The roof is not displayed.

The *kuṭī* or hutment in the two specimens—Gandha and Kośamba—is a single-storied building enclosing an altar or throne with a gardland hanging over it. It has an arched doorway, surmounted by a second arch like hood moulding. The door of the Kośamba *kuṭī* is a dome with a small pinnacle on the top, but that of the Gandha *kuṭî* has gable ends with a pinnacle at each end. The same arched door with its semi-circular hood moulding and the same doomed roof is also noticeable in a building of similar outline. It appears to be an open-pillared hall with a throne in the middle occupied by an umbrella hung with garlands.[91] The *puṇyaśālā* or religious house also offers an interesting piece of study. So also is that of Prasenajita—a two-storied building enshrining the *Dharmacakra*. The lower storey is an open-pillared hall standing on a plinth or basement ornamented with a Buddhist railing. The upper storey is divided into three portions, the middle one being slightly relieved. There are three arched-windows covered with semi-circular hood mouldings, and the wall of the central portion is ornamented with a Buddhist railing up to the springing of the hood moulding. The semi-cylindrical domed roof has two gable ends and a line of eight small pinnacles springs from this level.

Cunningham has also referred[92] to the canopies, thrones and ascetic hermitages; but there is one uniform pattern consisting of a long room, with either a pointed or a semi-cylindrical domed roof and a small opening in each gable to give air and light. The ends of the longitudinal timbers are shown in the gable, leaving little doubt about the thatching of the roof. At Sāñcī, the scenes depicting the architectural side are carved on the *toraṇas* or the Gateways of the Andhra period. It is quite likely that there might not have been much deviation in structural settings. A survey of scenes associated with buildings of two or three storeys, according to Smith,[93] accords with the colourful description of splendours of such towns of ancient India, as Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra. The Jātakas also provide description of buildings and their architectural setting.

In a review of the art and architecture of the Śuṅga period,

reference has been made to the centres of art of this period particularly Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Bodh-Gayā and Mathurā. These sites and the monuments associated with them have received particular attention of many scholars and art-critics. The art in this period is very rich stylistically as well as for its popular appeal, serving as a mirror depicting the life and activities of the people. It is primarily religious but is not devoid of secular scenes. The lay devotees provide evidence of their devotion to the Lord. The famous sculptures carved on the gateways at Bhārhut, and on the railings at Sāñcī and Bodh Gayā which were set up during this period, are some of the best specimens of Indian art. The art critic might notice some defects, particularly crowding too many scenes in too little a space, but he can hardly be oblivious of the difficulties involved and the limitations imposed on the sculptor. The sudden change from wood to stone necessarily involved some technical shift as well, and allowance need be made for the carver to attain proficiency in stone carving without much loss of time. The human-factor not so conspicuous in the Mauryan art is prominently displayed and is in alignment with nature. There is linear rhythm. Bhārhut and Sāñcī, the two important art centres in this period, have much in common, but there are differences as well based on varying traditions and methods employed. Marshall drew distinction between the two with particular reference to restrained mannerism, pleasing affectation and dignified stylishness in Bhārhut sculptures. This need not provide evidence of the posterior character of Bhārhut sculptures which are more impressive. The early school of Mathurā, notable for Yakṣa statues and their counterparts, might have been the source of art traditions, but the influence of local ones was no less. The result was the independent emergence of the two art centres of Bhārhut and Mathurā. Both had, however, to rely on certain guiding principles obtained through a synthesis based on mental visualization and abstraction. The Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar is suggestive of foreign impact, if not of influence, on Indian art in that period. It would, however, be better to keep an open mind on the subject. The terracotta figurines of the Śuṅga period are equally impressive with the use of moulds for greater productivity. Besides, sculptures and clay pieces, reference has also been made to the housing plans

and structures as revealed from scenes carved in stone. The cave—temple architecture of Western India, as also of Kalinga is equally important for a comprehensive study of art and artistic activities between the first two centuries before the Christian era. On the whole, it may be suggested that despite political turmoils and disturbances, the activities on the speculative and materialistic sides were not repressed, and the contribution of the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period is fairly notable.

References

[1]A study of the art and architecture of the Śuṅga period engaged the attention of several scholars in the past. This study was either a part of the comprehensive history of Indian art, or localised to particular centres in detail. The former was general and the latter a more specialised one. V.A. Smith's *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911; Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Paris, 1929; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Boston, 1926, were pioneer attempts. Subsequent studies include—Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India—Hindu, Buddhist-Jain*, Pelican Books, London, 1953; H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York, 1955; and Nihar Ranjan Ray, *Maurya and Post-Maurya Art*, Calcutta, 1975, a revised version of his early work—*Maurya and Suṅga Art*, Calcutta, 1945. Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā and Bodh-Gayā as centres connected with Śuṅga art, have been covered by Cunningham, Marshall, Vogel and Coomaraswamy. Later publications include those of B.M. Barua on *Bhārhut*, Calcutta, 1934-37, and also *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1931 and 1934; and S.C Kala, *Bhārhut Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, Allahabad, 1945. There have also been many stray articles on sculptures of the Śuṅga period which are noticed.

[2]I.1.1, p. 364.12.

[3]III.1.36, p. 36.4.

[4]Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Hindu and Buddhist), pl. VII, fig. 1.

[5]The name of the *navakarmika* or monk superintendent incharge of the building of the monument is noticed in an inscriptions recorded on the monument. (*Lüder's List*, no. 773.) At Sāñcī an inscription records that the Eastern Gateway with the adjoining masonry was erected during the rule of the Śuṅga dynasty tough it is not possible to determine the date of the monument with greater precision. (*Indl Ant.*, vol. XXI, p. 227, also vol. X, p. 118n; vol. XI, p. 29n; vol. XV, p. 137n; Smith, op. cit., 3rd edn; p. 30 and n).

[6]For a study of Bhārhut sculptures in the Indian Museum, see N.G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, 2 parts, Delhi, 1937. These are earlier described in the comprehensive work of Cunningham on Bhārhut entitled *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879

and also by B.M. Barua Calcutta, op. cit.

[7]Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, pl. XV.

[8]The Bhārhut pieces in the Allahabad Museum are described by S.C. Kala in his paper on the subject published in the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vol. XVIII, pp. 91ff; and also in his book *Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, Allahabad, 1945. B.M. Barua made certain suggestions regarding the identification of the Bhārhut pieces in the Allahabad Museum in his paper published in the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vol. XIX, pp. 48ff.

[9]Kala, op. cit., pl. XII.

[10]*JUPHS*, vol. XIX, p. 48.

[11]*Jātaka*, no. 345; Barua, *Bhārhut*, vol. III, p. 139.

[12]*Jātaka*, no. 549; Kala, op. cit., pl, I /.

[13]Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. II, p. 1097.

[14]Memoirs, *Arch, Sur. India*, no. 24, p. xviii.

[15]Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. LXXXII, fig. 2.

[16]No. 500, op. cit., pl. VII.

[17]Op. cit., pl. VI (A and B).

[18]Barua, op. cit., pl. III, scene 138.

[19]Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pls. 23, 25, 27.

[20]Op. cit., B 19, pl. XIV.

[21]Ibid., B 542.

[22]Barua, *JUPHS*, IX, p. 51. Patañjali also refers to festival gatherings (*samāja*) (I.1.50, p. 120.3). It was not uncommon to have entertainments and display of acrobatic feats.

[23]According to Smith (op. cit., p. 30). There are more than thirty-two alto-relievo statues of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs (Yakṣīs), Devatās and Nāga Rājas, one half of which are inscribed with their names. Thus, we learn that the guardianship of the north gate was entrusted to Kuvera, king of the Yakṣas. Similarly the other gates were confided to Devas and the Nāgas. For a fuller study of the Yakṣas, see Coomaraswamy's work on the subject in two volumes (Washington, 1928-31).

[24]The exact meaning of the motif is not known. Many legends, however, relate the power of women and Yakṣīs to bring trees into immediate flowering by embracing the trunk or touching it with their feet. In Indian mythology the Yakṣī is first and foremost a fer ility symbol (Rowland, op. cit., p. 54).

[25]The Medallions on the rail-bars and the half-medallions on the pillars are filled with a wonderful variety of bas-relief subjects. The comic-monkey scenes collected in Cunningham's pl. XXXIII display sense of humour, freedom of fancy, and clever drawing. One such medallion has a funny picture of an elephant extracting a man's tooth with a gigantic forceps. (Smith, op. cit., pl. XIV.9).

[26]Marshall and Foucher: *Sāñchī*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 24. A key to the chronology of Sāñcī is provided by the Aśokan column standing to the right of the South gateway. The Mauryan level is marked by a floor of pounded earth and clay. Three other levels of floor appear over it, the

top most being lime-plastered. Above all, is the pavement of large slabs contemporary with the stupa railing. This is a perfect plan, according to Smith (op. cit., p. 33) of a wooden post and rail fence and may be dated in the latter half of the second century BC.

[27]Marshall, op. cit. p. 29.

[28]Ibid., pls. 23a, b, c, 78.

[29]Ibid., pls. 74, 75, 82, 83, etc.

[30]Ibid., pillars 3A, 5a, 44b, 46b.

[31]Ibid,, pls. 15a, 74, Ib, Ic; 126.

[32]Ibid., pls. 49a, 126, 159.

[33]Ibid , pl. 74.

[34]Ibid., p. 102.

[35]Ibid., pl. 75, pillars 7a, 8a, 76.

[36]Ibid., p. 103.

[37]*History of Fine Art in India*, op. cit., p. 30.

[38]*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 35.

[39]*ASI An. Rep. 1906-7*. p.145. Ref. Foucher, *L'art Graeco Bouddhique du. Gandhāra*, tome I, pp. 225 and 615.

[40]*Bodh-Gayā*, p.12.

[41]*Sāñchī*, vol. I, p 106.

[42]Cunningham, *Bodh-Gayā*, pl. VIII, no. 8.

[43]*Bhārhut*, p. 32.

[44]Op. cit., p. 32.

[45]Op. cit., p. 106.

[46]II.2.29, p, 431-5; I.3.25, p. 28[illegible].6.

[47]Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 25, pl. VII, fig. 24.

[48]Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, p. 29.

[49]*Indian Architecture* (Buddhist-Hindu pp. 89ff.

[50]*Sāñchī*, vol.I, p. 106.

[51]Mathurā and its art have been noticed by many scholars from Growse onwards. Special reference may be made to the contributions of, Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mauthrā*, Allahabad, 1910 and his 'Notes on the Mathurā School of Sculpture', *ASI An. Rep., 1906-17*; pp. 137ff and *1910-11*; R.P. Chanda: *The Mathurā School of Sculpture*, 1922-23, pp 164ff and 1923-24, pp. 101ff; N.S. Agrawala, *Catalogue of Mathurā Museum*—published in series in *JUPHS*, 1948-51 and R.C. Sharma, *Buddist Art of Mathurā*, Delhi, 1954.

[52]The Parkham Yakṣa, now in the Mathurā Museum, is a mutilated standing statue of a male representing, according to Smith, the Yakṣadeva—god Kuvera. It is probably the earliest example of early sculpture as distinct from the Mauryan. In treatment and detail it is said to be a fore runner of the sculpture of Bhārhut and has nothing in common with the art of the Mauryan capitals (Smith, op. cit., pp. 28-29).

[53]Growse, *Mathurā*, p. 62.

[54]*CHI*, I, p. 632. Other important statues include two from Patna and the Didarganj Yakṣī, which are considered as products of the mid

or late 1st century BC (Smith, op. cit., 20). For a detailed study of the subject, see Coomaraswamy's work on the subject. (Reprint, New Delhi, 1971).

[55]R.P. Chanda, op. cit., *ASI An. Rep. 1922-23*, p.165.

[56]*Yakṣas*, p. 36.

[57]Ibid., p. 29.

[58]Agarwal, *Handbook of Sculptures in the Mathurā Museum*, Allahabad, 1939, figs. 5, 7, 8.

[59]Ibid., fig. 20

[60]Ibid., fig. 8.

[61]*JBORS*, 1920, p. 470.

[62]Agarwal, op. cit., fig. 5.

[63]Op. cit., p. 57.

[64]Agarwal, *Guide to the Sculptures in the Lucknow Museum.*

[65]II.2.34, p. 436.6.

[66]Growse, *Mathurā*, p. 62.

[67]*The Jain Stūpa of Mathurā*, p. 22.

[68]This subject matter has been considered at length by many scholars and a comprehensive bibliography by C.C. Dasgupta appears in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (Letters, IV, p. 711 for collected references),

[69]Coomaraswamy, 'Archaic Indian Terracottas', *Boston Museum Fine Arts Bulletin*, XXV, pp. 70-76.

[70]Ibid., p. 70.

[71]Ibid., p. 90.

[72]The Bibliography is quoted by Coomaraswamy in his work *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 21n. Since the publication of this work (1926) excavations at different sites have brought out a huge mass of terracotta pieces. An important paper by V.S. Agarwal on the 'Mathurā Terracottas' appeared in the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vol. IX, pt. II, p. 66. Recent publications include a *Corpus on Indian Terracottas* by S.C. Kala.

[73]*JUPHS*, vol. IX, p.12.

[74]Agarwal, op. cit., figs. 1, 5 etc.

[75]Ibid., figs. 32, 34, 35 and 40.

[76]Ibid., fig. 14.

[77]Ibid., fig. 16.

[78]*JUPHS*, vol. IX, p. 37, fig. 37.

[79]Ibid., p. 35, fig. 37.

[80]*ASI An. Rep. 1911-12*, pp. 35-36.

[81]Gordon, *Indian Terracottas*, *JISOA*, 1943, p. 157.

[82]Ibid., p.152.

[83]*Proc. All-Indian Oriental Conference*, vol. III, p. 707.

[84]*Arch. Rep. Varenda. Res. Society*, 1926-36, p. 1.

[85]*JISOA*, vol. X, p.102.

[86]*Indian Architecture*, pt. I, pp. 24f.

[87]Ibid., p. 36.

[88]Ibid., p. 37.
[89]*Eastern Art Annual*, vol. III, 1931,
[90]Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, p. 118.
[91]Ibid., p. xvi, fig. 1.
[92]Ibid., p. 122.
[93]Op. cit., p. 13a.

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